THE SOCIOLOGY OF A WHITE COLLAR SUBURB: GREENBELT, MARYLAND

By

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PART I

HISTORY, LITERATURE, AND PROBLEMS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION, PROBLEMS AND SOURCES

1: Introduction

In May, 1935, the President of the United States, by Executive Order started what many thought to be a daring innovation in the field of American housing. Alongside a general program of rural resettlement and rehabilitation, he proposed the building of several model communities for low-income workers. The supervision of four such projects was entrusted to "chief braintruster" and university professor, Rexford Guy Tugwell, who immediately began to plan the actual building of four garden cities, patterned after similar communities abroad.

Such a governmentally supervised program was rather unique in American history. Along with other measures to aid the "forgotten" man, these projected Greenbelt towns were subjected to intense scrutiny and criticism by conservative, economy-minded officials and citizens. The building of the Greenbelt towns became one focus for wider political controversies of the time. Despite this, the projects were continued and completed by the end of 1937. One of these towns - Greenbelt, Maryland - is the object of this study. The town is located about thirteen miles northeast of Washington, D. C., about a mile and a half east of the Washington-Baltimore boulevard.

The most startling "visual" feature that distinguishes Greenbelt from the ordinary small municipality is its "planned" appearance. Its neat white buildings, separated by well-kept lawns, may be contrasted with the scattered, multi-colored patchwork of the ordinary American

town. Even the most casual observer notices the careful ecological planning that has gone into Greenbelt.

In the realm of town planning, Greenbelt is rather unique. Almost the complete plan of the town was detailed before a single spadeful of soil was turned. Since a physical plan is meaningless without reference to the human functions it is to serve, a "social" plan is at least implicit in any architectural vision. This factor was explicit in the case of Greenbelt. "Convenience and welfare" of the citizens were uppermost in the planners' minds. The Federal authorities and not private interests were leaders in this venture.

When the town was nearly completed, it was populated almost overnight. This sudden ingress of over 3,000 people into an isolated settlement is in itself a novel situation of much interest. It meant, of course, that the people were housed in a town that had no traditions. Many "community relations" had to be worked out de nouveau. Since practically all of the family occupants were strangers to one another, no kinship ties bound the family units together, as is often the case in small communities. Greenbelt can then be considered an experiment not only in housing, but also in "community organization."

This is a thesis on the sociology of Greenbelt, Maryland. Our major purpose in to describe in some detail the several leading characteristics of Greenbelt.. The frame of reference to be used in this sociological description is primarily one of social stratification, yet more tested approaches are also employed. The stratification framework is appropriate for two reasons. First, Greenbelt is a "one-class,

one-occupation" settlement. Second, we shall be concerned with describing the intra-stratum characteristics typifying this town.

2: The Problems

We feel that an adequate sociological description of a settlement should cover at least the following subjects. Each of these may be considered a problem in societal analysis.

First, the history of a town must be given, detailed sufficiently to enable the reader to realize the effect of the past milieu, and to give him such facts as may increase his understanding of the present.

This involves, in the second place, an analysis of "who runs the town" and how it is run. In short, the governmental structure of the settlement must be analyzed, as well as the informal organization which may control the formal structure.

A third task is to specifically characterize the settlement; that is, to distinguish it from other settlements and enumerate which characteristics are peculiar thereto. In this manner, the extent of the generalizability of the findings may be known. Part I covers these three subjects. This leads naturally into Part II which is a more intensive characterization of the internal similarities or dissimilarities of the population. That is, the problem of social differentiation and stratification arises. A description of such characteristics of social stratification as class, status, occupation and power is required.

After this, in Part III, an analysis of the "social organizations" of the settlement may be pursued with greater understanding. The history

of various organizations, town-wide and those of special interest, should be revealed. Another purpose for such an organizational history is to present, through organizational situations, some of the political, economic, status, and other attitudes and beliefs of the different strata of the settlement. Organizational histories enrich, with "live" data, structural and stratification materials.

Lastly, the sociology of a suburb should try to unfold in a more systematic way, the social, political, economic, and other beliefs of the population. This is attempted in Part IV. It should be possible, with such information, to develop "leads" into the social psychology of the population or strata of the population. We have attempted to satisfy each of the general requirements in our study of Greenbelt, Maryland.

3: Sources of Materials.

The major sources of information which we have used to give us insight into our six general problems of social description of a settlement, are as follows:

(1) Official consent from the federal agency supervising Greenbelt was obtained to peruse some of its files. The latter contained folders on all of the residents of Greenbelt. From this source, information was copied on data-sheets for the eight hundred households in "old Greenbelt." The people in the new "defense" homes built in Greenbelt were not included. For "old Greenbelt" such general information as income and occupational history, size of family, financial assets and obligations, and other such data were thus recorded.[1]

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[1] See the Appendix for the data sheets used to extract information from the Farm Security Administration files.

From time to time the supervising agencies -- namely, the Rural Resettlement Administration, Farm Security Agency, and the National Public Housing Authority -- published "releases" on the Greenbelt towns. These provided information concerning the origin, planning, and construction of the town. Releases of the town government added to the fund of general information.

The office of the town clerk provided official papers pertaining to the chartering of the town, the functions of various departments, vital statistics, as well as records of the public meetings of the town council. From the Office of Tenant Selection and Adult Education, we obtained unpublished manuals of rules of applicant selection, town surveys, registration and new "community" activities, and much other miscellaneous materials.

(2) From local and metropolitan newspapers and periodicals, we followed the reaction of articulate opinion of the surrounding areas toward Greenbelt. National publications served the same purpose for the nation as a whole.

(3) The Cooperator, the weekly paper published in Greenbelt, was an excellent source of public commentary on local current affairs. Its coverage for various events or problems was roughly indicative of the importance of these events or problems. Space devoted to individuals and organizations reflected in part their status importance, as well as the extent and nature of political activity. The paper was also a crude mirror of public opinion, as well as of official policy. It also provided clues to the leisure "social" and organizational activities of the people.

(4) The records of the organizations were also a source of information. The minutes of meetings, the list of members and officers, and historical information of most of the main organizations were secured.

(5) These data were supplemented by interviews with officers of organizations who provided informal histories of "issues" in the various organizations. Some of these were well informed, and we used them as informants. Interviews were also had with federal and local governmental officials. Only through this source were we able to reconstruct the informal relations of the governing authorities involved. Interviews were also secured from a representative sample of Greenbelt residents. From these we obtained information on the political attitudes, aspirations, economic beliefs, and other characteristics of the residents.

(6) Much of the data on organizational activity and psychological attributes of the stratum was obtained from direct participant observation of the activities of Greenbelters. The writer lived in Greenbelt two years. He was able to participate in some of the organizations. This allowed him to receive some of the insights available to a participant observer.

(7) Many of the Greenbelt organizations issue mimeographed and other printed materials. We perused a great deal of this information. It is possible to use data of this sort for the extensive solution of one or two clear problems. This is not the plan of study which we have followed. We have set up a number of individual problems in the course of our description. These will be clear as we progress through the various parts of the essay. The specific methodology of attacking each

problem will accompany the presentation of the problems.

* * * * *

Greenbelt presents a unique problem in federal-local relations. Although constitutionally it is an independent town in the state of Maryland, the presence of federal authorities in the town affects the type of political activity occurring there. An analysis of the local town government and the local federal functions reveals that in some ways the town is dependent on the federal government. This raises the problem as to the type of political activity possible in a town thus constituted. We found that apathy of the local resident in local governmental affairs was one of the big problems of Greenbelt. As a consequence much effort is continually exerted to make the citizens aware of the "community", and of their role in its direction. The analysis of the causes of this apathy suggests some of the changes that may be made to get the residents to consider themselves more of a part of the town, and to activate their interest therein.

The population characteristics of the residents were explored in Part I. The selection of Greenbelt residents was not left to chance. We studied the population attributes of the town very carefully, and checked them with the quotas or "selection criteria" set up by the supervising agency. We found that Greenbelt is primarily composed of a white-collar stratum. Most of the male workers are young, white collar workers, working for the federal government in Washington. They received in 1942 salaries ranging from $1400 to $2400 per annum. Although one-quarter of the residents are manual workers, the town may be said to be dominated by younger office personnel. In a sense,

therefore, the study of Greenbelt is the study of a white-collar settlement. The results of this study contribute in a small way, to the sociology of this stratum.

Since we are to study a settlement, it is well to determine the exact nature of the settlement of Greenbelt. This we endeavored to do in Part I. We examined the sociological characteristics of three conceptions of "settlements" that could describe the town. These are community, garden city, and suburb. We demonstrated that Greenbelt, despite the façade of a community in the ecological sense, was in reality a well planned suburb.

The next problem was to investigate various types of "community" studies that might offer us hints as to how to approach the study of a settlement that tended to be at the same time a social stratum. We reviewed ecological, rural community studies, anthropological community studies, and some modern sociological studies for their possible contribution to a stratification approach to the study of Greenbelt. We found that the planning that went into Greenbelt made the ecological approach inapplicable. The rural community studies were rather "formalized" and seemed to ignore the problems of stratification. The anthropological reports also tended to be rather formalized, and designed, of course, for more "primitive" societies.

The approach of the Lynds in the Middletown books offered some leads to problems of social stratification. Other relevant studies were reviewed for their methodological and informational leads.

The conceptual tools of stratification used in this study of a settlement include "class", "status", "occupation", and "power." We reviewed the definitions of these terms in the literature, and attempted to justify the use of our definitions rather than others. The general theoretical interrelations of "class", "status", "occupation", and "power" enriched our interpretation of the stratification characteristics of the suburb. Parenthetically, it was a challenging problem to see how stratification arose in a town that was economically quite homogeneous, and lacked private businessmen, "ordinary" politicians, etc.

We have used in our description of Greenbelt and Greenbelters, these concepts and, of course, others. Analysis of the economic history of the stratum in Part II, revealed that Greenbelters have witnessed a slow, steady increase in salary that has been faster perhaps than that for the population as a whole, and perhaps even faster than similar occupational strata.

The occupational history of the group was further analyzed by major occupations. We found that Greenbelters' fathers were largely farmers, small businessmen, and skilled workers. Their sons received, on the whole, a high school education or better, and went directly into clerical occupations, and tended to remain there. The respondents exhibited a history of occupational mobility that is perhaps greater than for the population as a whole. In terms of generational occupational mobility, Greenbelters have fallen somewhat, in the sense that

they have become more "dependent." The effect of the war, however, has given them semi-administrative and technical occupations with accompanying increases in salary.

The status structure of Greenbelt is rather unusual. Business men, given prestige in the ordinary town, naturally receives none in Greenbelt. At the top of the status hierarchy are the top federal officials who live in the town. These are followed by the professionals. Next come the town leaders, those who are officers in the larger organizations. These are recruited from the leaders of the smaller voluntary organizations who form the status group below. This group that aspires to become the towns' leaders, presents the most interesting stratum from the psychological point of view.

The "average" Greenbelter, the white-collar worker who belongs to two or three organizations, but who does not participate regularly, forms the next group. He believes himself to be superior to the manual workers and the non-participators. Below the manual, skilled workers are the local town laborers and the Negro workers. The status of those of the Hebrew faith is ambivalent in Greenbelt.

One major problem was to determine whether a statistical basis for affiliation and status could be found in Greenbelt. We analyzed the social characteristics of Greenbelters according to the number of affiliations they had. We also contrasted the officers with the non-officers of the organizations for some significant sociological characteristics. We found, on the whole, that the results of this were negative. One possible explanation for this is the homogeniety

of the town, in terms of occupation and economic characteristics.

Part III of this thesis purports to present a sociological description and analysis of the organizations of the town. The town wide organizations were first analyzed. These were the town council and the Citizen's Association. The town council's earlier problems were establishing the perimeter of its authority. It soon found that in some ways its actions are limited by the supervising agency. The council may not be understood without reference to the other voluntary organizations in Greenbelt. This holds for the cooperatives and the smaller special-interest groups. The town manager plays an anomalous role in the relations of the local government with the cooperatives.

The smaller associations have obtained representation on the town council, as well as on the cooperatives. We found that the town budget was a document that reflected the compromises of various group pressures. Various groups in Greenbelt, like the American Legion and the Athletic Club, have been able to manipulate the council for their own purposes in the guise of "community welfare".

The Citizen's Association was once the most important organization in the town. It was instrumental in establishing many of the smaller associations, and for providing recreational and educational facilities of the town. Later, the Association became less important as the organizations were created to meet the special interests of the population.

Cooperative type of business enterprises have been given a chance to "prove" themselves in Greenbelt by the supervising federal agency. The two large coop organizations are the stores which are run by

Greenbelt Consumers' Services, and the Greenbelt Health Association. A history of these organizations reflect two things. 1) How white-collar groups might be expected to react to the introduction of cooperatives business to replace private businesses, and 2) political and other cleavages that have arisen in the town. Only by an intensive analysis of the coops and the Health Association may one understand the organizational milieu of Greenbelt.

A history of those cooperatives demonstrate that they have become decreasingly "ideological" in character. Several hypotheses have been developed to explain this. We found that the most plausible explanation for the increasing influence of the "conservatives" has to do with the abdication of power and interest of the younger "liberals". The latter turned their attention to climbing the occupational ladder in the federal bureaucracy. The high degree of transciency gave the older "conservatives," who remained in Greenbelt, increasing power. Other sociological explanations are developed for the decreasing participation and the changes in policy.

The smaller cooperatives in Greenbelt reflect the entrance of the cooperative principle in special-interest spheres. The general "success" of these cooperatives is explainable by the fact that their interests are so narrow that political and "ideological" differences have less of a chance to be meaningfully expressive.

The special-interest associations in Greenbelt are highly developed as in many other suburbs. It was found that the town was politically organized through some of these special-interest organi-

zations. Even the cooperatives are influenced by the support or the antagonisms of members of these organizations. Politicians and managers of the cooperatives cultivate the support of some of these organizations, such as the Athletic Club and the American Legion.

Other organizations are organized purely for the pursuit of a special interest such as gardening, shooting, and other activities. One thing common to these smaller special-interest organizations, which were very numerous when Greenbelt first opened, is that they increasingly tended to become "social" in character. As Greenbelters' economic resources bettered, they tended to buy their own amusement and diversion, rather than create it, as they did when they first entered the town.

The final part, Part IV of the thesis, develops in a more systematic way the political and economic attitudes of Greenbelters, as well as their attitudes toward the town.

We found that on the whole Greenbelters believe that the town is a good place to live, and an excellent place to rear children. They do aspire to own their own homes, however. They believe that Greenbelt should be restricted to middle class people who are not quite able to buy their own homes. A few believe that Negroes should be allowed to reside in the town.

The job is very important aspect of the heads of the families in Greenbelt. Fully one half of the heads of families were unemployed during the depression. This has, it seems, had an effect on their attitudes toward their work. Most Greenbelters say that they like their work, as well as their work associates, and supervisors. We found, however, that

a large portion aspire to have "independent" jobs and professional ones. They are making preparations to secure higher jobs in the federal hierarchy, by taking courses related to their occupations. Greenbelters want their children to be professionals, although they are hesitant to admit this openly. The preponderant majority plan to send their children to college, or give them as much education as they can afford. A substantial proportion of the parents have been successful, for forty-five per cent of the high school graduating classes have entered college. With increase in salaries, Greenbelters intend to save for their security, and then buy a home.

By and large, the chief wage earners believe that they are better off working for the government than working for private business. They believe that the federal government is a better employer. The things they prefer about federal employment are the prospects of general security and job stability. Despite the fact that they desire economic "independence," they want security more. There are a number of things about government employment that dissatisfies them however. Chief of these is the advancement policy. Our group is straining to climb high and quickly in the Government. Dissatisfaction with the pace of progress has led to some reservations on government employment. Above all, the earners are afraid of getting stuck in a "bureaucratic rut."

Although only one-quarter of all the earners belong to labor unions, the majority believe in the unionization of their occupations. That they do not become unionized is due to civil service protection and other provisions of government employment.

We attempted to get at the attitudes toward joining manual workers in strikes, and organizing vertical unions with manual workers. The majority "intellectually" favor this path, but place reservations on "solidarity." The manual workers in the town, imbued with the principles of craft-unionism, also show reluctance toward such solidarity. The white-collar workers, although sympathetic with the causes of labor, do not embrace the idea of the strike as a good weapon of settling disputes.

The self-classification of the political possition of Greenbelters revealed that the plurality has "none" or wishes to classify itself as "independent." Those that did classify themselves, chose the label of the Democratic party and other designations as "progressives," "liberals." Only a few labelled themselves "conservatives."

When the residents were asked to identify themselves with broad national groups, the majority indicated that it does not feel any attachment to nation-wide groups. Only a small proportion voluntarily indicated that they felt themselves a part of the "middle class." The general lack of such attachments, we feel, characterize such salaried groups.

Lastly, we endeavored to arrive at some generalizations concerning the self-appraisal of Greenbelters in terms of the occupational hierarchy. Most of them feel that they belong in the center of it. The manual workers feel that they are superior to the office clerks and other white-collar occupations. However, the white-collar workers believe that they are superior to "industrial wage earners." Both manual and white-collar workers in Greenbelt have respect for professional people, but the white-collar workers have greater respect for the teacher and the government bureau heads. They

show antagonism toward the politician-gressman.

The political, economic, and status attitudes of Greenbelters enable us to understand better the organizational and political life of the town. Greenbelt may be considered a sample of the white-collar federal employee. No doubt, some of our findings apply to this group in general. Further comparative studies with other types of suburbs containing different white-collar occupational compositions would bring out more clearly the attributes of the white-collar stratum as a whole. The constant comparison of the manual workers and the office personnel in Greenbelt suggested that differences between strata do exist. More intensive sociological investigations are needed to develop more systematically the sociology of occupational strata in the United States.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF GREENBELT

1: Early History of Greenbelt

An executive order of the President established the Resettlement Administration on May 30, 1935. Although primarily intended to bring relief to distraught farmers and to improve agricultural land, the Act suggested that suburban communities for urban workers might also be built. This may be inferred from the functions and duties of the undersecretary of Agriculture, Mr. Rexford Tugwell, who was prescribed to,[1]

> Administer approved projects involving resettlement of destitute or low income families from rural and urban areas, including the establishment, maintenance, and operation in such connection of communities in rural and suburban areas.

At the same time the new Agency absorbed the property, functions, and money from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.[2] The first task of the Resettlement Administration was to create an internal organization to attack the major "problems" it was dedicated to solve. Four divisions were created: rural rehabilitation, land utilization, rural resettlement, and suburban resettlement. We

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[1] See United States Executive Orders, 26:7072, 1934-35.

[2] Ibid., Number 7073.

are interested in the last of these divisions.

On September 23, 1935, thirty-one million dollars were allocated to the Administration to carry out a demonstrational suburban housing program. The sum was later reduced to twenty-six and one-half million dollars. The Government[1] by this action was to provide models and stimuli for private housing enterprises. The new settlements were not to be mere rehousing experiments like other slum-clearance demonstrations.[2] Whole towns were to be built "to put houses and land and people together in such a way that the props under our economic and social structure would be permanently strengthened."[3] This purpose was more daring than the entry of government in the housing field. Opponents of public housing apparently did not realize this, being intent upon stopping the public "housing bugaboo" from growing too large.

Soon after the decision was made to build four "Greenbelt" towns, a staff of researchers began to make a study of one hundred American cities. They were scaled in reference to pertinent social

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[1] Throughout this thesis, "Government" refers to the federal agency supervising Greenbelt.

[2] See Greenbelt Towns, pamphlet issued by the Resettlement Administration in September, 1936. Despite the protest of not entering the housing field, it is interesting to note that much publicity was devoted to prove that the United States was far behind other nations in public housing. Also, the publicity emphasized that Greenbelt towns were not untried experiments, but proved actualities abroad.

[3] Ibid., See also, H. S. Churchill, "America's Town Planning Begins," New Republic, 87:96-98, June 3, 1936.

and economic factors that would make them suitable for resettlement projects. From among these cities, a few were chosen which had a lengthy record of regular growth, a sound economic foundation, diversity of industries, good wage levels, enlightened labor policies, and an acute need for housing.[1] These characteristics presumably would assure successful resettlement projects.

Four metropolitan areas were chosen near which "Greenbelt towns" would be built. These were Washington, D. C; Cincinnati, Ohio; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and Boundbrook, New Jersey. This last project was not completed due to a legal controversy. The names given to each of the proposed communities were Greenbelt, Maryland; Greenhills, Ohio; Greendale, Wisconsin; and Greenbrook, New Jersey.

Washington, D. C. was allegedly chosen as a site for the following reasons: (1) its population had grown rapidly during the last fifteen years; (2) a large pool of workers were present who had small but steady incomes, (3) there was a serious shortage of dwellings fit for habitation, and (4) the rent in the city was about thirty per cent higher than that in other large cities.[2] Another factor not mentioned, but undoubtedly in the minds of the planners, was that Washington would be an excellent location for a "demonstration"

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[1] Larson Cedric, "Greenbelt, Maryland: A Federally Planned Community," National Municipal Review, 37:1-8, August, 1938.

[2] "Greenbelt Towns," The Architectural Record, September, 1936, p. 221.

project.

The authorities realized that despite their humanitarian motives, their program would have to be "sold" to the American people. Even though Washington was a locus of criticism, the fact that many people visiting the Capitol would also visit the project might overbalance this disadvantage. They assumed that the physical attractiveness of the town would convert criticism into enthusiasm.

The planners advertised the Greenbelt idea widely. The main theme, popular even with some industralists, was the destruction of the traditional boundary between town and country. The planned communities were to be surrounded by a park or a girdle of farm land, which would provide a protective belt against the encroachment of industries. Simultaneously, the social "pathologies" accompanying industrial expansion would be avoided. The city workers would then have a decent home in healthful surroundings, not too distant from his place of employment. The small farmer located in the green belt could find a ready market for his goods, as well as the cultural advantages associated with urban life. Thus the best features of rural and urban life would be integrated into a larger regional plan.

To realize this, the Resettlement Administration immediately began to procure land about thirteen miles northeast of the heart of Washington, near Berwyn, Maryland. One-hundred and seventy-six land units comprising an area of 12,259 acres were purchased at the cost of $1,124,480. Only 3,600 acres now comprise Greenbelt. The remaining land was allocated to the Beltsville Agricultural Research Center,

affiliated with the Department of Agriculture. This land may and can be reincorporated into Greenbelt if future expansion warrants it. We do not propose to describe the actual planning and construction of the town.[1] Suffice it to say that planning began in July, 1935 and the construction in October of the same year. The first residents were "resettled" in September, 1937.

The Government's plans were complete. All necessary facilities were provided for the new residents in the line of stores and services. The Consumers' Distribution Corporation, a cooperative organization, was contracted to provide a grocery store, drug store, shoe repair, dry cleaner, gasoline station, barber shop, and so forth. A post office and two schools were located either in or near the town. Later a swimming pool, tennis courts, and a recreational areas were made ready for use.

Before the town was occupied, the Resettlement Administration had made plans for its governing. The Administration was anxious <u>not</u> to create a "federal island," with the accompanying problems of paternalistic control. The apprehension must have been great for fully one and one-half years before the town was opened, Roy S. Braden, former

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[1] Most of the published literature concerns itself mainly with the problems of physical planning. Only scanty material is printed on the social and political implications of town planning and less on social participation in the town. The planning staff for Greenbelt was headed by J. S. Lansill, director of suburban resettlement. W. Richards was executive officer in charge. Hale Walker was the town planner. The architects were R. J. Wadsworth, and D. D. Ellington. H. Bursley was the engineering designer.

county manager of Arlington county, Virginia, was selected "community manager" of Greenbelt. He sat on the advisory board which wrote the town charter one year before Greenbelt was opened for occupancy. Mr. Braden and the Administration desired a city manager form of government for Greenbelt. A bill to legalize this was presented to the House of Delegates of the Maryland legislature. Since no community in Maryland had such a form of government, the Act of Incorporation was naturally closely scrutinized. Republican governor Nice and several legislators balked in signifying approval. However, pressure from federal authorities and from the University of Maryland's President Byrd, made possible the passage of the bill in ample time.[1]

While the town was being built one must not imagine that it progressed without obstacles. Greenbelt became a symbol of the kind of thing that anti-New Dealers opposed. That is, the nature of the criticisms of Greenbelt were similar in character to those directed against the New Deal itself. These attacks may be classified as follows: (1) doubting the constitutionality of the Government to build and operate such communities, (2) the extravagant cost of construction, as an example of "wasteful expenditure," (3) the "interference" of Government in a realm that was considered traditionally the right of private industry, and (4) fear that this was a

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[1] The details of the bill and the administrative organization of the town are outlined in the next section of this chapter.

scheme to introduce "socialism" seditiously.

The reaction of the press to Greenbelt reflected the conflicting political and ideological positions of various groups. Criticims of the town began late in 1935, as soon as Greenbelt was conceived. Controversies arose concerning the apportionment of relief labor to work on the town. Surrounding governmental units tried to "dump" as much relief labor as it could on the Greenbelt project. Each near-by county, Baltimore, and the District, demanded that a "just" proportion of its relief citizens be employed on federal programs.

Since much of the labor employed was of a transient nature, the notion arose that the future community would house transients. Maryland's senator Sasscer openly declared that he was doing all in his power to stop the project, for he feared that the town would become an undesirable, transient community. He stated that the county would not tolerate transients, especially when the latter would not contribute financial support to the county government.[1] Opposition appeared to be gathering strength. District newspapers displayed such headlines as, "Storm Breaks Over the Mammouth Resettlement Project Near Berwyn," "Huge Burden Protested by Taxpayers," "Five and one-half Million dollar Homes Will Accommodate Transients," and so forth.[2]

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[1] Washington Star, October 15, 1935.

[2] Washington Post, October 27, 1935.

Accusations were hurled that the project was being built to provide comfortable quarters at cheap rental for the New Deal personnel. Greenbelt was daubbed "the largest housing colonization project ever launched in the Western Hemisphere;" "its blue-prints and architects' drawings looked like a sociological cartoon by Aladdin."[1]

Dr. Tugwell became the center of critical attention, and Greenbelt was dyslogistically called "Tugwelltown." The ideas and ideals of Dr. Tugwell were publicized. His statement, "I shall roll up my sleeves and make over America," was condemened as seditious in a series of articles in the Washington Post entitled, "Utopia Unlimited." His other "radical" ideas concerning the advisability of a fourth branch of government which would act as a super National Resources Board with teeth in it, was likewise censured.

The nature of the rebuttal was along humanitarian and idealistic lines. Will Alexander, who succeeded Dr. Tugwell in the Resettlement Administration, made a typical statement to the press:

> We are trying to demonstrate a new method to break down the present intolerable situation in which the welfare of one-third of American families are menaced because they live in substandard homes.... Past experience has shown that private industry cannot afford to build adequately for the low income groups, nor can these groups, as individuals, build adequately for themselves.[2]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Washington Star, September 13, 1936.

To assuage the opposition the experimental nature of the community was emphasized. But some officials were not timidly on the defensive. One of them reported that Greenbelt would be an experiment in government as well as in housing.[1] Another declared, "I hope we make as many mistakes as possible so that our successors may profit from the errors."[2] This yardstick ideal was only seized by opponents as more "misty-eyed New Deal idealism" that would bring the country to pot."

Some of the objections appeared to have resulted from a lack of understanding of the nature of the project. After some study, the near-by town of Berwyn, in an unanimous resolution of its council, agreed to accept "Tugwelltown." The "mass protest" before the Prince George's county commissioners turned out to be a one-man affair. The executive committee of the county's Chamber of Commerce, in a reconciliatory mood, asked the Resettlement Administration to send them a representative to explain the project.[3]

The nature of the criticism shifted from the ideological to the economic. Resettlement officials made it clear very early that Greenbelt was not to be considered a slum-clearance project, nor was it to an economic yardstick for private enterprise. The first official estimates indicated that it would take sixty years for Greenbelt to pay

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[1] Washington Star, September 13, 1936.

[2] Washington Post, October 13, 1935.

[3] Ibid., October 29, 1936.

for itself at an interest rate of three per cent.[1] Estimates were revised as opponents found new arguments. Consequently, the financial picture was never completely clarified in public. The use of unskilled relief labor, the rapid rate of labor turnover, and other factors so complicated the financial picture that it is impossible to determine whether the project will or will not pay for itself.[2]

The announcement by the Administration that the Government would receive about $60,000 yearly in excess of operation and taxes, evolved a number of estimates of the duration that would be required for the town to pay for itself. One local newspaper agreed that in sixty years the town would be paid for, perhaps even visualizing a profit.[3] The Pacific Gas and Electric Progress for October 1937, worried about the taxpayers' pockets, calculated that the community would have to exist one-hundred and thirty-three years to pay for itself. Political mathematicians in Pittsburgh calculated the period

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[1] Ibid., October 29, 1936.

[2] Late in 1937 the Farm Security Administration indicated that the gross cost of Greenbelt was $14,227,000. But, it continued, the cost "properly" chargeable to Greenbelt proper was $8,398,000. This figure is arrived at by deducting $4,920,000 for surplus labor expenditures, $284,000 for equipment and surplus materials available for salvage, and $643,000 for land. Federal Security Agency Press Release, September, 1937.

[3] Washington Daily News, September 2, 1937.

to be two-hundred and thirty-seven years.[1]

In the halls of Congress, Senator Byrd fumed about the extravagant sum of fourteen million being spent for workers' homes. In the meantime, the President himself visited the project and voiced his complete approval of both the Greenbelt idea and of the progress of the project itself. Mrs. Roosevelt answered Senator Byrd directly, stating she saw no harm in the government spending money on experiments for better living. The project itself could be considered a "success" in comparison to some private ventures![2] Many newspapers and periodicals of national repute entered the polemic. These tended to emphasize the economic rather than the social implications of building Greenbelts.[3]

As soon as the new tenants began to move into Greenbelt, they were subjected to close scrutiny. Cynics were interested in the outcome of this "experiment in Utopia." Immediately, criticism arose concerning the administration of the town. According to one newspaper,

> The Administration will make every attempt to socialize these people. In its paternilistic way resettlement has already planned the first town meeting. Here Mr. Braden will explain to the citizenry their duties toward the town. He will stress the need for cooperation. To hasten socialization, Mr. Braden

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[1] Pittsburgh Post Gazette, September 5, 1937.

[2] Star, October 8, 1937.

[3] See G. Morris, "$16,000 homes for $2,000 Incomes," Nation's Business, 26:21-3, January 1938.

> will urge formation of a Citizen's Association by blocks. The undesirables will be eliminated by not renewing their annual leases.[1]

Reports of a scurilous nature were circulated privately. One paper discovered that three-quarters of the Greenbelt applicants had heard stories that the town would resemble a German concentration camp. Rumors were spread to the effect that guards would be posted at every gate, that no visitors would be allowed after dark, that no radios would be allowed to play after 9:30 P. M., that all lights would be extinguished 11:00 P. M., that there would be enforced buying at the local stores, and so forth.[2]

Shortly after opening, the community manager, feeling uncomfortable under the close scrutiny of the public, issued a list of rulings to apply to all residents. In his words he aimed to "Put Greenbelt's best foot forward." The regulations included (1) the exclusion of pets in the town, (2) mandatory consultation with the official gardening staff before planting the flowers beds, (3) restricting bicycles to streets, (4) obeying income regulations and (5) not displaying the wash on the clotheslines after 4:00 P. M. on weekday and on Sundays.[3]

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[1] Ibid., September 15, 1936. Underlining mine.

[2] See Washington Daily News, March 23, 1938. Significantly, the reporter found that rumors were widespread in the vicinity of the Navy Yard, where rents were dropped from between five to nine dollars a month.

[3] Star, November 17, 1937.

One paper declared reactions to the rules as "private mutterings of regimentation." The rules were dramatized in such headlines as, "Utopian Gates or Greenbelt Banged in Face of Pets," "Widow First Victim of Government Edict in Greenbelt," "Trouble Brewing in Paradise of Greenbelt," and so forth. Others reported that the local reaction to the Government's kindness was the feeling that the "sky was the limit."[1] Some residents were reported to be wondering whether it was a good idea for their children to be reared in the midst of so much. They were purported to have reasoned that the children would become soft and unaccustomed to the rigors of the world.[2] Oddly enough, scattered in the above condemnations was information as to how one might be able to get into Greenbelt.

With time the criticism subsided. The end result of this publicity was to put Greenbelters on the defensive. They had to explain that conditions in Greenbelt were not intolerable, but quite comfortable.[3] Newspapers found rifts in Greenbelt "good copy." They were continually on the alert for such copy.

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[1] The Baltimore Sun for October 30, 1937, characterized in a cartoon the typical Greenbelter as a jobholder of the Administration, wearing a dollar sign lapel button with outstretched hands, shouting "gimmie."

[2] See ——— E. Thornhill and F. DeArmond, "Another New Deal Experiment Goes Sour; Greenbelt for Sale," Nation's Business, 28:23-5, 1940. This article summarizes most of the criticisms of business interests toward Greenbelt.

[3] Some liberal periodicals described the first years of the project in a favorable light. See P. S. Brown, "What has happened at Greenbelt," New Republic, 105: August 11, 1941.

What was the actual type of government Greenbelters lived under? How did they react to it? What peculiar "problems" have been associated with it?

2: The Administrative Order of Greenbelt

The agencies supervising Greenbelt have changed several times. The Resettlement Administration was established as an independent agency on May 30, 1935. On May 5, 1937, Greenbelt was incorporated by an act of the Maryland legislature. The Resettlement Administration's name was changed to Farm Security Administration and absorbed as an agency under the Department of Agriculture on September 1, 1937.[1] Greenbelt remained under the surveillance of this Agency until October 1942, when the several federal housing agencies were reorganized and centralized under the National Housing Authority.

The transfer of Greenbelt from one agency to another marked changes that were more apparent than real. For the greater part, the personnel of the Agencies remained unchanged by the reorganizations. No significant changes in policy toward the town occured by virtue of these organizational shuffles.[2]

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[1] See United States Monthly Catalogue of Public Documents, 1938 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1939).

[2] An attitudinal change, not clearly affected in organizational changes, was the tendency of Federal Public Housing officials and the community manager of Greenbelt to regard the town more as a housing project than a social experiment.

It is instructive to study the governmental structure of Greenbelt, the machinery of the federal agency supervising the town, and the relationship between the local and federal governments. Greenbelt has a city manager form of government, chartered by the Maryland legislature.[1] There is nothing peculiar about the charter of the town. Like most legislative agencies its council is allowed to assess property and levy and collect "taxes." It may furnish public services, control public roads, and so forth. The duties of the city manager, council, town clerk, town solicitor, and other officials are set forth in the charter after the model of the National Muncipal League. A reading of the bill suggests that the town has complete autonomy. The federal government is not even mentioned in it. Just a few phrases, by indirection, indicates the presence of another corporate body. For one thing, the town is allowed to "receive payments in lieu of taxes"[2] (from the federal government). Another section allows certain town officials, as for example, the town manager, to hold any office or combination of offices, and to receive other compensation. This, of course, permits certain officials to hold both federal and town positions, and to receive salaries from both.

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[1] See House Bill 395, Chapter 532, Maryland Legislature for 1937, entitled "An Act to Incorporate the Town of Greenbelt."

[2] See "Federal Payments in Lieu of Taxes," Bulletin of National Tax Association, 22:115-120, January 1937.

In the original draft of the bill of incorporation, the charter was declared valid only as long as Greenbelt was under the jurisdiction of the Greenbelt Housing Authority as created by House Bill number one-hundred and fifty-five, 1937. The original plan of the Federal Government was to have Greenbelt be entirely independent. In the original plans, the town was to be transfered to an independent state or county housing authority. The Farm Security Administration went so far as to prescribe the personnel of the Authority.[1] Reports of the probable entry of "politics" in the Authority reputedly made the Administration decide to cancel the Authority plans temporarily. They have not been revived to date.[2] House Bill number one-hundred and fifty-five was never passed, and provisions concerning the relation of Greenbelt to other authorities remains very vague on state statutes. Below, we shall describe the relations as they now exist.

Attached are two schematic organizational charts for Greenbelt. Chart I diagrams the Federal government's areas of control, as well as the sources of authority. The Federal Public Housing Authority is an independent agency in which there exists a division of "special housing

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[1] The following officials were to constitute the Authority. The chairman of the Prince Georges County Commissioners, Chairman of the National Capital Parks and Planning Commission, Chairman of the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission, President of the University of Maryland, the Mayor of Greenbelt, one resident of the county, one resident of Greenbelt, and one person selected by the Administration. Their primary functions were to be selecting the tenants and receiving the rents. See Washington Star, April 6, 1937

[2] It may be significant that the above plan was also intended for the other Greenbelt towns, but in no case did it materialize.

management." This division has direct supervision of the Greenbelt towns. Its officials are on the whole those that staffed the Farm Security Agency. They select the community manager and his assistant to represent the federal government in the town. Their duties revolve largely about physical maintenance and fiscal control, the particulars of which may be read directly from the chart. Their functions are those typical of a landlord; viz. keeping all buildings and grounds in good state of repair, receiving and keeping accurate accounts of rentals, and the selection of tenants.[1] Annually, the community manager makes a report to the supervising agency on the financial condition of the town and the state of occupancy.

The sections of Figure 1 which are outlined in represent part-time positions or functions which the federal government shares with the town departments or officials. These shared functions are dominated by federal officials, although their duties should not interfere with the program of the town itself. Hypothetically, the town is entirely independent of federal control. It can do whatever it desires in its legislative or financial policy. It is not likely, however, that an "unwise" legislative or fiscal policy would be tolerated by federal agents. The latter may resort to two or three techniques to check or control the town's policies if they happen to be at odds with federal policy.

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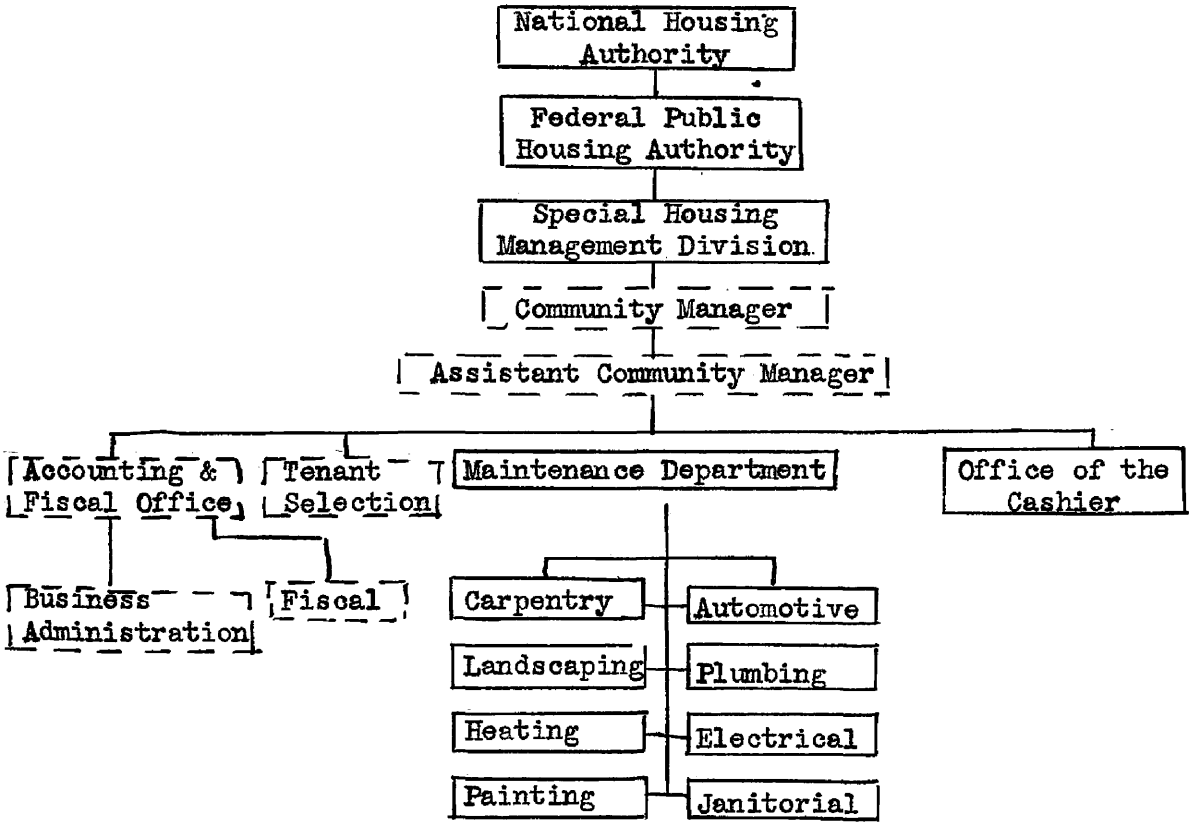
[1] Specification of federal functions will be detailed further below. A staff of one-hundred and forty people is necessary to carry out the functions. This number is considerably larger than the staff of the local town government.

FIGURE 1

ADMINISTRATIVE CHART OF FEDERAL FUNCTIONS IN THE TOWN OF GREENBELT, MARYLAND



Shared by both federal and local governments

The most important of these is, of course, withdrawal or delay of financial support. The routine is for the government to collect the rents and then grant the town funds with which to operate. This sum ranges from $88,000 to $100,000 per annum.[1] Other towns usually secure funds from direct taxation. In Greenbelt the source of income is referred to as "funds in lieu of taxes." The county and state also receive "funds in lieu of taxes." The exact amounts are determined on the basis of assessments made by local assessors.[2] The assessment for Greenbelt is rather low.

The second way in which the federal government could and does control limited spheres of town life is through the rules and regulations present in the lease of every renter. The leases are contracts between the federal government and the individual renters. On the whole, the lease deals with the tenant's responsibility toward the physical property of his dwelling unit and toward the town. Some of these rules approximate ordinances which would ordinarily fall under the jurisdiction of town council.

The last clause in the tenant's lease gives the Government, that is, the community manager, "the right to make such other rules and regulations from time to time as it may deem needful and appropriate

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[1] Since 1000 "defense" homes were built in 1942-43, the budget has increased considerably.

[2] Obviously, the reason for this method arises from the impossibility of local governments to tax federal property. Greenbelt, of course, is owned by the federal government.

for the safety, care, and cleanliness of the premises and for securing the comfort and convenience of all residents of Greenbelt."[1] This obviously gives the federal agent unlimited power if he should want to use it

Figure II, depicting the organization and functions of the town itself, is both complex and interesting. Federal officials claim that ~~its~~ their functions and organizations should be and are kept entirely separate from those of the town's. If this were entirely true the ultimate authority would lie in the hands of the residents. The latter elect a council of five members which has complete legislative authority in the town.[2] The town charter places no unusual legal limitation on its power to legislate. Upon assuming office, the councilmen appoint one of their number as mayor. They also select a town manager to run the town. He, in turn, chooses the department heads and other personnel as is typical of manager-forms of government. The council may also select advisory committees to study and report on special local problems.

Strictly speaking, only three departments are operated exclusively by the town: They are the Public Works, Public Recreation, and the Public Safety Department. The remainder of the services, denoted in

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[1] This reservation has not been frequently applied, but it does have the force of an ordinance-making power, witness the ruling that housewives' wash must be taken off the clothes lines before 4:30 P. M. Also, hanging clothes or moving on Sundays are prohibited.

[2] The councilmen are the only elected officials in the town government. Originally they were unpaid. At present, they receive $250 per annum, which is the ceiling for councilmen's salaries stipulated in the town charter.

in Chart II, are under the control of individuals who are, in part at least, federal officers. These do not have the formal status of department heads; they are heads of "offices." As such, they serve the town in a part-time capacity.

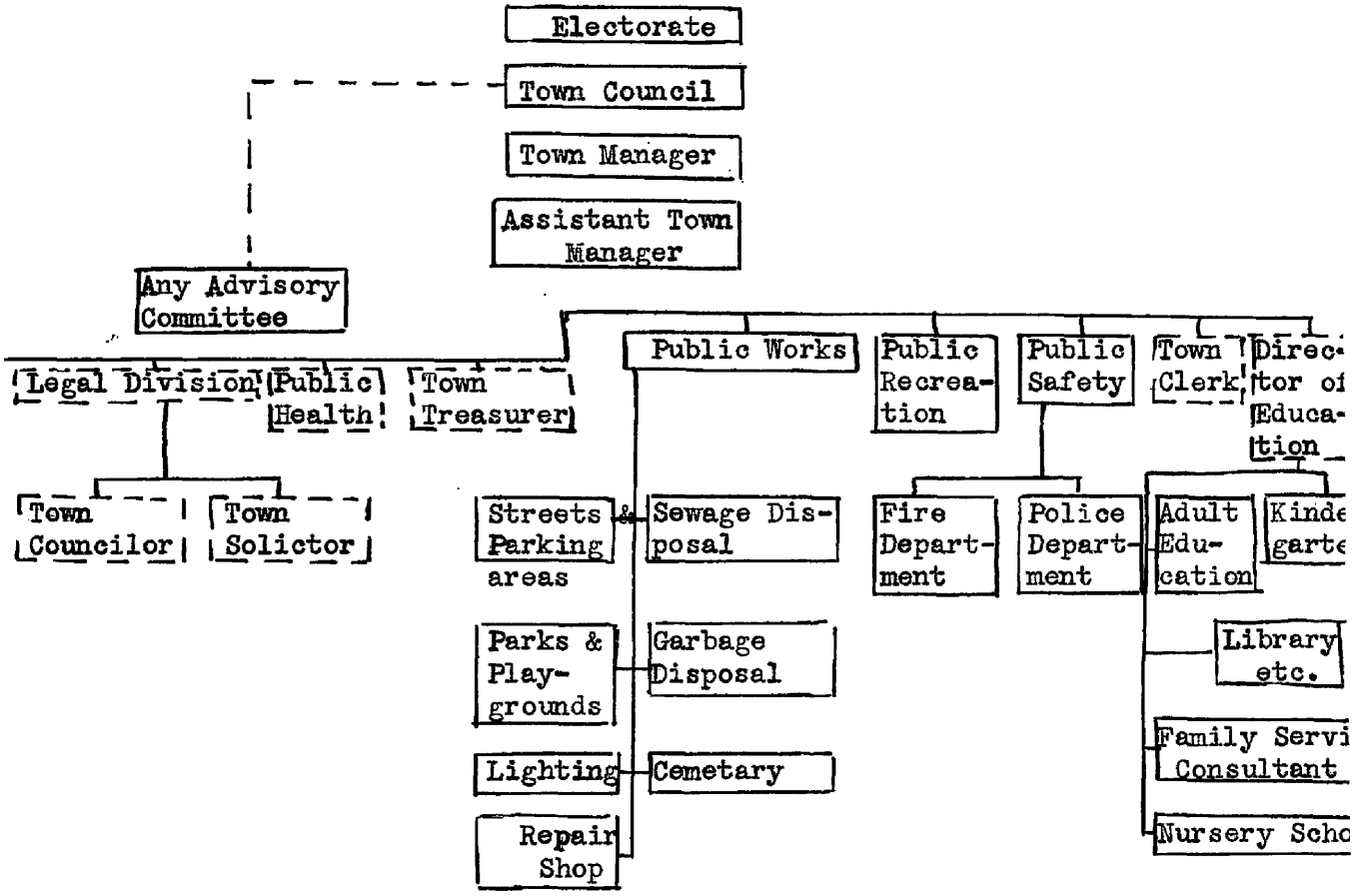
The legal section of Chart II is less complex than it appears. It is a one-man office, filled by the assistant town manager who is also the assistant community manager. As town councilor he conducts research and cases on law suits filed against the town. In the capacity of town solicitor, he handles all legal questions arising from the town's relations with other corporate bodies, as the county and state.

The public health office, as the name implies, takes care of the physical well-being of citizens. The doctor of the Health-Association, a medical Cooperative, heads it. He receives the assistance of a federally paid, full-time nurse. Physical examinations are given to school children, pre-natal and post-natal child clinics are conducted, and other such services are administered.

The town treasurer, who is also head of the accounting and fiscal office in Chart I, receives federal funds and disburses them for town functions. He keeps records of expenses, assets, and so forth. His dual office places him in the position to guarantee that federal and local fiscal policies do not operate at "loggerheads."

FIGURE 2

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF THE TOWN FUNCTIONS OF GREENBELT, MARYLAND



— — are not departments but "offices" appointed by the city manager as part-time positions. These offices are occupied by federally appointed employees

The functions of the Department of Public Works are self-explanatory.[1] The same applies for the Department of Public Safety. The latter department is almost entirely independent of federal connections, with minor exceptions. The fire truck is leased from the federal government. The fire-fighters are the male employees in the town, most of whom are federal employees.[2]

It is unusual for a town the size of Greenbelt to have a separate department of public recreation. Only a few activities of this department may be mentioned here. They are (1) operating the swimming pool during the summer and conducting swimming and life-saving classes, (2) conducting craft classes for the children all year long, (3) conducting parties and "socials" for the school children, (4) supervising athletic programs and town teams, (5) securing federal funds for conducting adult recreation.[3]

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[1] It may be of parenthetic interest to add that some equipment used by the town is federally owned. Also that a curious and often non-understandable division of labor exists between the maintenance department of Chart I and public works in Chart II. The town, for example, cuts the grass next to the roads, the federal government mows the lawn between the road and the apartments, while tenants care for their immediate lawns! The chasis of the school bus belongs to the federal government, while the motor belongs to the town. So even here, local and federal equipment and activities are not segregated, despite the presence of supposedly independent offices.

[2] In a sense, all employees in the town are federal employees, since they work in a federal agency and receive federal pay. But strictly speaking, the town officials receive money realloted by the council for performing strictly town services.

[3] This department assumes credit for the abnormally low delinquency and crime rate in Greenbelt. It points with pride to the fact that before 1943, fines for overdue books brought in a larger revenue than fines from arrests.

The town clerk posits and keeps records of vital statistics, of council meetings, and of other official affairs. In addition, she has served as private secretary for the town manager and the community manager who is the same individual.

The office of education has miscellaneous functions. Its chief is a federal official who also acts as chief tenant selector (see Chart I). The town has no "Board of Education" because the grammar and high schools are run by the county with the aid of federal funds. But the Office of Education with the use of town funds, operates a kindergarten attached to the grammar school, as well as a nursery school. It pays the salaries of the teachers.

An extensive adult education program falls under the jurisdiction of this office. It arranges classes in typing, shorthand, woodwork, languages, and in any other subject in which sufficient numbers of people display interest. The office also supervises the public library. Responsible to the office is the "Family Service Consultant," a social worker, who works part-time at federal expense, and does the duties typical of that occupation. The town band has been sponsored and organized by this office. Other functions, having little relation to education have been added to the duties of the Director of Education. Her office is the sounding board or listening post of the town's problems and desires. Not only does it ferret out the town's problems, but it initiates measures to solve them.

It is apparent from a comparison of Charts I and II that federal and local officers, offices, and services are "operationally" intertwined.

For example, the town manager is also the community manager. That is, he is both the chief local, and the chief federal official.[1] On being asked his functions as a federal official he said,

> All activity, everything is supervised by the federal government through myself. But having two jobs is like being at one time a Dr. Jekyell and Mr. Hyde. At first, I got everything mixed up and confused, but gradually I was able to segregate the two offices. Now I can operate with a split personality, as it were. I can sit down and do the job of either with not much trouble.

This statement needs no amplification. It reflects the general relationship between the federal and local authorities.

The conventional labels describing authority patterns need qualification in this case. Greenbelt as a corporate group, is legally, autonomous and autocephalous.[2] That is, the charter granted by the state, gives the town, through its council, sole authority in the town. No recognition is granted to any other group to share this authority. The head of the local government, the town manager, is appointed by the council.

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[1] It may be significant that this situation of a dual office held by one man exists in the Greendale, Wisconsin, but not in Greenhills, Ohio, where a city manager type of government is not recognized by the state.

[2] See Max Weber, section 12 of Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, Grundriss zur Sozialöknomik (Tübingen: 1922) (Translated by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, unpublished) A "corporate group" may be either autonomous or heteronomous, either autocephalous or heterocephalous. "Autonomy" means that the governing order has been established independently by its members on the basis of their own authority. In the case of "heteronomy," the order has been imposed by an outside agency. "Autocephaly" means that the head and his staff act by authority of the autonomous order of the corporate group itself, while in the case of "heterocephaly" they are under the authority of outsiders.

The rights of the federal agency in the town are very loosely defined. The fact that it has, as an outside agency, placed over the town a head with real power impinges on the de facto, if not the de juro political autonomy of the town. Thus, Greenbelt is both autonomous and heteronomous; it is both a heterocephalous and autocephalous group. This "mixed" state of affairs in confusing to some of the townspeople. They may consult local officials concerning affairs in the jurisdiction of federal officials, and vice versa.

It is reported that complete separation of function has been contemplated at various times, but both federal and town sentiments opposed this. The primary reason for such opposition is reputedly monetary. From $25,000 to $30,000 yearly is said to be saved in salaries and other expenses by having dual functionaries. Also, it is said that there was not enough work to keep two staffs occupied full time. Since trained federal personnel was present, they seemed to fit "naturally" into the town's governmental structure. At first, federal officials served the town at small nominal salaries ranging from $1-1,000 annually. However, most of these salaries were returned to the town treasury. In June, 1943, the Housing Authority ruled that federal officers who do town work must accept at least $300 per annum. The purpose of this was to signify their status as full-fledged officials of the town.

Reviewing the town chart, we may note that five out of the eight main functions are headed by individuals who are primarily federal officials. In the remaining departments federal functions overlap local

functions, in part at least. This is most conspicuous in the case of the town managers. The community-town manager may be considered the liaison officer between the federal and local governments, and between the local federal and town administrations. Under such a situation it is difficult to see how the town, administratively at least, can have autonomy.

One may not conclude, however, that the electorate or their representatives have no power whatever. It is more accurate to state that in crucial decision about which town and Government officials differed, the power situation would tend to favor the latter. This is so because the Government can make its influence felt directly on the legislative body through the manager. Also the federal officials occupy strategic positions in the administrative order of the town. This is especially important in view of the fact that the patterns of administering the town are set and not subject to much change. Added to this is the fact that the chief executive, or the chief administrator is the same individual for both local and federal interests. Significantly, the greater portion of his salary comes from the federal government.

The Citizen's Association is a non-legal agency which seeks to influence the political order of the town through public opinion. Every adult resident is automatically a member of this organization. As such, he has the prerogative to present problems that have community-wide bearing before its monthly meeting. In turn, the Association may advise the council on town problems and on citizen attitudes toward them. The Association has, as one of its main functions, the raising of funds for purposes not covered by town funds. Raising money for charitable purposes

conducting investigations on the transportation problems, encouraging "community feeling," giving prizes to school children, all of these constitute part of the Association's activities. The Association's influence on community affairs has decreased steadily. As one resident remarked, "All it does is wish it ran the town."

3: Political Problems and Issues

What are some of the problems that might arise from the peculiar administrative organization of the town? How can political interests and "democratic procedures" be preserved in a town where many major problems are solved by a heterocephalic bureaucratic staff? Although no one in the town articulates this problem so boldly, nevertheless, its answer provides the key toward understanding many undefined feelings of Greenbelters.

Omnipresent in the mind of the average citizen is an awareness of residing in an "unusual community." Basic to this is the feeling that the federal government is the watchful but benevolent protector, that it will usually provide needed services, that it will meet all contingencies and emergencies. The important thing is to make one's feelings and thoughts known to the "proper authorities."

We do not mean that the citizen feels that all he has to do is say, "Abracadabra," and pronto, all his desires are met, with the compliments of "Government jinee." Rather, the feeling persists that regardless of one's efforts, the Government will continue to govern and

do a rather decent job at that. Consequently, until recently the "art of politics" has been slow to develop. No formal political parties have arisen. One reason for this has been that the Administration has sympathetically initiated many of the pet projects of the residents. If requests are refused, the formula "funds are not available for that at the moment" is a palatable paliative. Because the formula is not always uttered, and because action frequently follows, citizens are inclined to believe in the candor of the Government.[1]

Requests usually are promulgated by particular interest-groups, as busy mothers, ardent bowlers, imaginative radio "hams."[2] The town council can meet these requests, but its financial dependency on the federal government restricts its freedom of action. Federal controls are not considered oppressive, but local officials must consult federal authorities concerning almost every innovation. "Are funds available for that?" is the ubiquitous question at council meetings. Whenever deficits occur, requests must be made to the federal authorities to cover them. Although this involves a complicated procedure, deficits

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[1] The department of recreation and especially the office of education administer most of the citizen projects. Citizen-attempts to start a band, hold a class, initiate a nursery school, succeeded only when the office of education decided to lend an official hand.

[2] For example, the mothers wanted a nursery school; bowlers appealed for alleys; radio "hams" asked for a large antenna; the American Legion, a flag pole, and so forth.

are usually cleared up, and only a few worry about them. The resultant feeling of apathy in the citizenry is often mislocated by some officials. The town manager complained,

> The people don't take enough interest in local government, They are only interested in services. The cost of government doesn't concern them because it is the federal government which pays....Any extra service that means a higher rent is immediately dropped like a hot-cake.

The town's newspaper, The Greenbelt Cooperator deplores this situation. It complains that no interest is shown in the council's activities. The councilmen, impressed by the bad attendance of their meetings constantly invite citizens to participate. However, the latter do not consider lengthy discussions on speed ordinances, the cost of the recreation department good entertainment. Since increases in the salaries of town officials do not affect their expenditures, why should they be opposed? Little relationship is felt between what council does and the manner in which people live.

We must not infer, however, that the citizen is always apathetic and non-political. A threatened withdrawal of service will bring a deluge of petitions and heated arguments. The turbulent reaction to abolition of the town hospital, to the threatened shrinkage of bus service, to the raising of rents, bear witness to the potential, arousable interest.

Greenbelt's apathy to the county and state, apart from the reasons given above, is attributable to five other conditions.

First, the rather high rate of resident turnover in the town.

Second, Maryland state laws require that a prospective citizen register his intention to vote the year before he can vote or register.

Third, many cannot plan to make Greenbelt their permanent home. This is so because (a) many realize their federal jobs may be transferred to field offices any time, (b) they would be forced to move if their income exceeded specified limits, (c) some desire to buy their own homes as soon as they are economically ready.

Fourth, many having been residents of Washington, D. C. where local formal political activity is almost non-existent. The resultant attitudes carry over in Greenbelt.

Fifth, the Administration does not want local county politicians to operate in the town.

Under such conditions why are some Greenbelters "community conscious?" For one reason, the Administration and other groups consciously attempt to develop this sentiment in the community. For example, the Administration constantly refers to the town in public as the "community," although the bureaucratic referent is the "project." The town is reminded that conflicts in its organizational life must be subdued, since the town is being scrutinized by the world as a model of cooperative living.[1]

Efforts were made from the first year to create precedents that might become "traditions." A Citizen's Association was sponsored to promote widespread interest in the community. Whenever the organization

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[1] During a factional row in the Health Association, the community manager made a long "unofficial" speech on the necessity of reconciliation. "The conflict was bringing the town bad publicity," he lamented.

fagged, the Administration made efforts to keep it alive or to reorganize it.[1] A town-flag was designed and displayed on proper occasions. On holidays the "town common" was highly decorated with the national, state, and town flags, as well as with laurel, or other appropriate paraphenlia. The Administration actively sought to introduce organization which were not but "should be" represented in the town; for example, the Boy Scouts. Financial support was given to "projects" which might become community traditions. The most conspicuous example of this was the Town Fair, which the council was urged to appropriate rather large sums of money. The labor of town workers was used to build booths and prepare exhibits. Such a project when repeated two or three years became a "tradition" or a "custom" The Administration helped initiate programs for Memorial Day, Flag Day, Armistice Day, and other holidays. Although these were sponsored by private organizations, some expenses as printing the programs were assumed by the town. Everyone was urged to attend the convocations and many pains were taken to omit no participant's name from the printed program.

The Recreation Department also serves to get people together.

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[1] The mere threat of a collapse of the Citizen's Association evokes an almost neurotic burst of activity in the town Administration. Conferences are immediately summoned to begin the "reorganization" of the Association. Speeches are made on the importance of preserving a basic, democratic citizen's Association, where "anybody can get up and say anything he wants about anybody or anything in the town, even though nothing comes of it." A political right becomes expressed as a right to therapeutic release.

Beside providing athletic direction, it sponsors competition between the "blocks" in the town. The town band is asked to provide the proper "atmosphere" at these and other cermonies. When the band gives "block concerts," the women are urged to give the student-musicians refreshments, as "custom dictates."

Other organizations in the town endeavor to further "community feeling." One of great importance is The Greenbelt Cooperator, the town weekly. Besides publishing local news, a personal column is printed. It formally welcomes and says adieu to members moving into and out of the town. It refers to "community traditions" and to the "first settlers," It urges all citizens to participate in as many "community" activities as possible. It backs the cooperatives. It tries to emphasize "community" ties and offers suggestions to dissipate tensions or divisive tendencies.

The Citizen's Association is devoted to conquer the "problem of community-consciousness." Lack of progress toward this goal is reflected in the fact that its main problem is to keep from collapsing. Since interest in it frequently ebbs, inducements to increase participation are continually conceived. Door prizes are given at meetings, "community singing" is attempted, games and refreshments are offered after the official business is over, prizes are given to students who exemplify the attribute of "community service." Annually, the Association arranges a newcomer's dance, the purpose of which is to introduce the neophytes to each other and to the older residents. Street dances are also sponsored in summer to get the people together.

The American Legion also has a program that emphasizes "community" service.[1] But most of these attempts to increase "community awareness" fall short. Only when there is a real crisis that may threaten a loss of service or money does a spontaneous "community action" arise. Then no one needs to urge attendance and interest. Spirited functioning organizations mushroom immediately.[2]

The amount of interest in town affairs fluctuates, of course. When the town was first founded, much more interest was indicated than today. In the first local election, almost the total eligible population voted. Unusually heavy organizational participation was also the rule. As one "old-timer" put it, "We didn't have time to enjoy our homes. We just slept in them." This certainly is not the situation today. The reasons that account for this indifference are in part the same as those responsible for the political apathy. Other factors, which shall be stressed later, are the psychological attributes of the stratum as a whole.

This indifference to local politics is also evident in county and state relations. Only eleven per cent of those old enough to vote did so in the county and state elections of 1942.[3] This low figure is

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[1] The American Legion parallels some of the activities of the Citizen's Association. Its efforts to increase "community" awareness will be treated in another section.

[2] A case in point here is the Rent Protest Committee of the Citizen's Association. At a meeting of the Association prior to the rent increase only fifteen people were present. After notice of the rent raise, over 250 people attended to protest. The treasury of the organization was appropriated, volunteers offered themselves to collect money, and interest ran high. Two meetings later, the same poor attendance was evident.

[3] The Greenbelt Cooperator, November 6, 1942. One-hundred and seventy-one citizens voted, one-half of those that registered.

partially due to the fact that the many federal employees living in Greenbelt have not been willing to give up their residence to their home states. The manager lamented over this saying,

> People ought to be citizens of the state they live and work in. I became a citizen of Maryland the moment I got a job here, and I'm a federal employee too. They just ought to take more interest in the county and state government. They hate the county. They dislike driving through it to get to work, they squawk about Hyattsville, and so forth. But they should be interested in it.

Greenbelt's relationship to the county and to the state is peculiar. Under law it has the same rights, privileges, duties, and obligations of any incorporated town in Maryland.[1] Apparently, the attitudes that residents have toward the State are reciprocated in kind by the State. The town is often ignored in county and state affairs. In the distribution of funds for road repair, for Japanese bettle traps, for transportation facilities, Greenbelt often is overlooked. In response to protests the retort is, "The federal government is supposed to look after you." The rejoinder that Greenbelt pays state "taxes" and should expect services in return, is often unheeded. The promise to include the town in the next appropriation is then forgotten. If sufficient protests are lodged, however, the state accedes.[2]

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[1] The legal right of Greenbelters to vote was first contested, but a court decision gave all residents a right to vote in town election, and Maryland citizens the right to vote in all other elections.

[2] We have not concentrated in this historical sketch in the participation of Greenbelters in their own organizations. For this see Part III. In this section we were mainly concerned as to how the formal structural attributes affected the general "outlook" toward the "community," and how it affected formal civic interest.

Now let us turn to the social characteristics of Greenbelters.

4: Selecting Greenbelt Residents

Greenbelt was not only planned physically, its very occupants were "rationally" selected. Original press releases of the Resettlement Administration stressed that the town was being built to relieve the housing situation of "low-income" workers. Later this was altered; the town was to accommodate those of "modest" income. When the construction was nearing completion, the Resettlement Administration began creating a pool of applicants from which a few were to be chosen as residents. These were to be selected with an eye on certain social and economic conditions in metropolitan Washington. Specifically, the object was to select people in such a fashion that Greenbelt would, as far as possible, represent a cross-section of the population of the Capitol. The alleged purpose of this was to integrate the residents of the new community with people living in and near the District of Columbia.[1] Materials from the 1930 census and other available sources were utilized to make quotas.

It is important to know what these quotas were, for they define in a general way the characteristics of the population of Greenbelt. By contrasting the quotas with the present characteristics of the populations, we may note what changes have occurred, if any. All quotas applied only to the white population of Washington.

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[1] See "The Selection Plan for Greenbelt, Maryland" (typescript in the administrative office of Greenbelt.) The following material is also largely derived from this source.

Below are the non-personal criteria which were considered important in the selection of applicants:

1. Age: Heads of families must be over twenty-one years old. Families having young children are to be favored. The age distribution of Washington is to be followed as closely as possible.

2. Residence: Persons must be tenants employed or residing in metropolitan Washington. Regional quotas are as follows: eighty per cent from the District of Columbia, and ten per cent each from Maryland and Virginia.

3. Place of employment of heads of families. In order not to get an over-representation of government or non-government workers, the following quotas were calculated: fifty per cent to be employed by the federal government (military personnel excluded); five per cent by the district government, and forty-five per cent non-government employees.

4. To further insure that no department or agency of the federal service be over-represented, quotas were arranged for such departments or agencies. A detailed description of this distribution is not warranted here. Suffice it to say that ninety-five per cent of federal workers were employed in executive branches of the government, three per cent in the legislative, and two per cent in the judicial.

5. To insure no religious discrimination, quotas based on the Religious Census, 1926, for Washington were created. Perhaps it is best to reproduce these in full.

Religion	Percent	
Catholic	34	
Jewish	7	
Episcopalian	17	
Methodist	16	
Baptist	6	59 per cent protestant
Presbyterian	5	
Others	15	
Total	100	

In filling the religious quotas, the proportions in each category was only very crudely followed. Fourteen per cent less Catholics were included and twenty-two per cent more in the "others" category. This made for an increase in the proportion of protestants,

apart from their denominational distribution.

6. Number of gainful workers per family. The 1930 census figures for the Capitol indicated that seven per cent of the families had no gainful workers, sixty-two per cent had one gainful worker, thirty-one per cent had two or more gainful workers. These quotas were not enforceable. It was quite impossible to have so large a proportion of two or more gainful workers per family in view of the wage limitations in Greenbelt. (See point nine below.)

7. Size of family: Fifty-eight per cent of District families had no children, twenty-one per cent had one child, five per cent had three children, while two and one-half per cent had four children.[1] No families having over six members are accommodatable in Greenbelt. Of course, this distribution was not rigidly adhered to. The size-of-family ratios had to coincide with the ratios of various sized apartments or houses in Greenbelt.[2]

8. Age and sex of family heads: Statistics on the Capitol concerning these factors were not utilized by the selecting personnel. The reason for this was the 'unrealistic' definition of family used by the census. According to the latter, twenty-six per cent of the District's heads of families were single.

9. Income: Here, of course, the income composition of the District also had to be disregarded. Minimum and maximum incomes, varying with size of family were fixed in accord with previous plans and were strictly carried out.

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[1] The census defines a family as any individual or group of individuals occupying a home or apartment. A child is a dependent person under twenty-one years.

[2] About eight per cent of the dwelling units in Greenbelt "proper" can accommodate one-member families, twenty-seven per cent are for two-member families, twenty-five per cent for three-member, thirty-one per cent for four members, eight per cent for five members, and two per cent for six members. Thus, in comparison to the District, Greenbelt has a smaller proportion of one-member families, and a higher percentage of families with few children. The town can accommodate three and two-tenths per cent persons per dwelling unit without violating housing standards.

Family Size	Income Range
1	$800-1440 (upper limit raised
2	900-1600 to $1600 January 1,
3	1000-1800 1939
4	1100-2000
5	1200-2100
6	1300-2200

Family incomes deviating fifty dollars above or below these limits were admitted.[1]

Apart from the above non-personel selectives, other criteria were operative. Part of the selection plans reads,

> The family should desire to meet objectives of the community, namely to raise their standard of living by taking advantage of the improved living conditions offered; as well as to participate in a cooperative-minded community for the mutual advantage of the group both from the economic and social standpoints.

This "ideological criterion" was applied through an interview with the family by one of the staff of thirty engaged by the Administration to select occupants.

While visiting the family the investigator was also to determine whether the need for adequate housing was genuine and permanent. Also the possibility of securing aid from other private or public agencies was to be studied. By examining the rental history of the applicant, knowledge about stability of residence was to be secured. The object of this information was to select those who would tend to reside in Greenbelt permanently.

The family also had to meet certain standards of "economic stability." Data on the assurance of a steady income to meet rentals and

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[1] With the outcome of war, the entrance income regulations remained unaltered, but residents were not asked to move if their salaries rose above these ceilings as they were before the war.

and other bills was deemed important. The indices used to determine financial stability were the rental, occupational, and credit histories of the applicants. These data, especially credit data, were of unquestioned reliability, for credit agencies were employed to check the credit status of applicants. Letters were also dispatched to employers, landlords, social service exchanges, and other persons and agencies to check data given by prospective residents. The family health history was also explored. It "should indicate relative freedom from such disabilities as to make doubtful their ability to care for the economic and social requirements involved in residence in the community."[1]

Previous experience or an interest in gardening was thought a valuable asset to "increase the family's income and standard of living." Hobbies, a history of participation in local affairs, and having lived in small towns were considered "assets" that future residents should possess.[2]

All the above criteria were utilized in selecting the first occupants. They were not chosen according to order of application but according to their approximation to the above criteria of selection. Due to the absence of a sufficiently large selection staff, it was impossible to continue this careful selection procedure after 1938.

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[1] Selection Plan, op. cit., p. 17.

[2] See Appendix for other subsidiary information obtained from applicants.

Also, selection on lines other than order of registration would perhaps have been regarded as "playing politics." By 1938, a basic few of the original selectives were retained; namely, credit rating, size of income, size of family, assurance of income, and age.

5: Population Characteristics of Greenbelters

(a) Age Distribution. Table I compares the age distributions for Greenbelt and Washington in 1940. This date was taken because later data are not available for Washington. The effect of the war has so altered the composition of Washington that any comparison would not represent a "typical" pre-war distribution. Also, the situation was stable enough in 1940 to give a valid picture of what might be considered a "normal" situation in both Washington and Greenbelt.

It is quite obvious that the age distribution of Greenbelt is not representative of Washington's. The most obvious difference is the greater concentration of the Greenbelt population in the younger-age groups. The median age for Greenbelt was 24.7 years and that for Washington 33.2 years. With one major exception, the proportions in each of the age groups under forty years is larger for Greenbelt than for Washington. The percentages in the age strata above forty are smaller in the Greenbelt population, emphasizing the general "accent on youth."

The greatest difference is in the age group "under five years," in which Greenbelt has over thirteen per cent more than Washington. This situation, with somewhat smaller differences, persists in the age

TABLE 1

AGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF WASHINGTON, D. C., AND GREENBELT, MARYLAND IN NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES[a]: 1940

Age	Washington		Greenbelt		Percentage Deviation[b]
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
Under 5 years	39,851	6.0	537	19.0	+13.0
5-9 "	37,245	5.6	313	11.1	+ 5.5
10-14 "	41,089	6.2	211	7.5	+ 1.3
15-19 "	48,680	7.3	138	4.9	- 2.4
20-24 "	65,483	9.9	229	8.1	- 1.8
25-29 "	74,346	11.2	496	17.5	+ 6.3
30-34 "	65,768	9.9	368	13.0	+ 3.1
35-39 "	58,348	8.8	233	8.2	- 0.6
40-44 "	53,889	8.1	143	5.1	- 3.0
45-49 "	46,641	7.0	74	2.6	- 5.4
50-54 "	37,918	5.7	32	1.1	- 4.6
55-60 "	28,870	4.3	13	0.5	- 3.8
60-64 "	23,757	3.6	15	0.5	- 3.1
65-69 "	18,309	2.8	16	0.6	- 2.2
70-74 "	11,651	1.8	3	0.1	- 1.7
75 and over	11,246	1.7	10	0.4	- 1.3
21 years and over	484,738	73.1	1,610	56.9	-16.2
Totals	663,091	100.0	2,831	100.0	

a. Calculated from the Sixteenth Census of the United States, second series for Washington, D. C. and Maryland, 1940.

b. The percentage that Greenbelt deviates from the corresponding Washington percentage.

strata of five through fourteen years. Strangely enough, the proportions are reversed in the age strata of fifteen through twenty-four years. Here Washington shows slightly greater percentages. In the age range of twenty-five to thirty-four years, Greenbelt has almost ten per cent more of its total than has Washington. In all the age strata above thirty-four years, Greenbelt displays consistently smaller proportions of its total.

One may conclude from the above that Greenbelt is composed of young married people with young children. Older married people with adolescent children are definitely underrepresented. This conclusion is still valid when Greenbelt is contrasted with urban areas as a whole in the United States. Again, the town displays greater proportion of young children and young married adults, and smaller proportions of adolescents and people over forty years.

Greenbelt's skewed age distribution reflects itself in the birth rate, which appears to be abnormally high. Its crude birth rate per 1,000 population for 1940 was about thirty-five as compared to the national rate in 1936 of 16.7 and 18.9 for the District of Columbia. The standardized birth rate is a more accurate index. For Greenbelt it is 15.5, slightly below that of the nation as a whole, which is 17.0.[1]

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[1] See Elridge Sibley, "Fertility in a Greenbelt Community," Division of Statistical Standards, Bureau of the Budget, The Standardized birth rate represents the rate which would have been experienced if the Greenbelt population contained the same proportion of married women of each age as was present in the national population in 1930.

If the standardized rate for Greenbelt is compared to that of metropolitan areas and residential suburbs composed of similar occupational groups, the rate for Greenbelt would no doubt be higher.[1] Unfortunately statistics on standardized rates are unavailable for metropolises, and for occupational groups. It is well known, however, that white-collar workers have a rather low birth rate. It may be noted here that Greenbelt's housing standards do not permit either much higher birth rate, or larger families.

(b) Racial Composition. Although it was vaguely suggested that Negroes be included in Greenbelt, the idea was never considered politically feasible. Farm Security officials pointed out that a special housing project was being built simultaneously for Negroes in the District. The fourteen Negroes in Greenbelt do not reside in the town itself, but in outlying farms located on Greenbelt property.

Since Negroes compose almost three-tenths of Washington's population, and foreign-born whites about five per cent, it is not surprising to observe in Table II that Greenbelt selected so high a proportion of native whites. The disproportionate ratio of clerical workers (see below) also skewed the selection in favor of native-born whites. Ninety-seven per cent of the Greenbelters are native white, as compared to sixty-six and four-tenths per cent of the District's population. The

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[1] See P. H. Douglass, The Suburban Trend (New York: The Century Company, 1925) p. 167. "The residential suburb has no larger proportion of children than the city has....It contains a large element of relatives, adult children and unmarried women."

TABLE II

NATIVITY AND RACIAL COMPOSITION OF WASHINGTON AND GREENBELT BY SEX AS OF 1940[a]

Race or Nativity	Washington		Greenbelt	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Native White	440,312	66.4	2,745	97.0
Foreign-Born White	34,014	5.1	72	2.5
Negro	187,266	28.2	14	0.5
Other Races	1,499	0.2	0	-
Total	663,001	99.9	2,831	100.0

a. Calculated from the Sixteenth Census of the United States, Population, 1940 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office).

A breakdown of the age distribution by sex for Greenbelt indicates that in general the sex ratios are nearly equal for all the age strata. The two striking exceptions are in the age group under five years and in the age range of twenty to twenty-four years. In the former there is a high preponderance of males, with a ratio of about 111:100. One cannot account for this except as a chance fluctuation of small numbers. In the second instance, the females predominate in a ratio over two to one. This may be in part due to the skewed sex ratio in the parent population in Washington. However, the differences should not be quite as large. More likely causes are the reluctance of single men to take up bachelor apartments in Greenbelt and the presence of young female grammar-school teachers in town.[1]

(d) Education. Table III indicates the amount of education possessed by our two populations. The educational level of adult Greenbelters is considerably higher than that of Washington. Most Greenbelters are at least high school graduates, the median school grade completed being twelve and five-tenths per cent. This is over two grades higher than is the case in Washington. Expressed differently, almost two-thirds of the Greenbelt population over twenty-five years old have a high school education or better, as contrasted with about two-fifths of the Washington population. Thus, we see an educational selective operating on Greenbelt.

However, this selection may not be so marked if we compared Greenbelt with the white population of Washington. That is, educational selection may have resulted from racial selection. Comparing the educational

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1 See Appendix, Table XLV, for age distribution by Sex for Greenbelt and Washington, D. C.

foreign born are consequently underrepresented in Greenbelt, being only two and five-tenths per cent as contrasted with Washington's five and one-tenth per cent. If we recompute the District's racial composition by excluding the Negroes, we would find that Greenbelt's population is still overrepresented in the category of native whites and underrepresented for the foreign-born whites.[1]

(c) Sex Ratio. Discussion of sex ratios of our population was delayed because of its foreseen relationship to the factors of race and age. It is well known that the sex ratio in the District is skewed highly toward the females. In Greenbelt, on the other hand, the sex ratio approaches equality. Whereas the ratio of men to women for Washington is one-hundred to one-hundred and ten, for Greenbelt, it is one-hundred to one-hundred and 101.5. This near-equality persists in the racial subgroups in Greenbelt, but such is the case for Washington.[2]

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[1] By recomputing, Washington would have about ninety-two per cent native whites and slightly over seven per cent foreign-born whites.

[2] The sex ratios of Washington and Greenbelt by nativity and racial origin for 1940 are as follows:

	Washington, D. C.		Greenbelt, Maryland	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Native white	100	110	100	101.5
Foreign born	111	100	100	100
Negroes	100	111	100	133*
Other races*	278	100	-	-
Total	100	109	100	101.5

*These are not very significant because of the very small number.

TABLE III

YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED FOR PERSONS TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AND OVER BY RACE FOR WASHINGTON, D. C. AND FOR GREENBELT: 1940[a]

	WASHINGTON			GREENBELT
	Negro Per cent	White Per cent	Total Per Cent	White only Per cent
No school years completed	3.5	0.9	1.6	1.0
Grade school: 1-4 years	17.5	2.7	6.6	1.0
5-6 years	19.6	6.0	9.6	1.0
7 or 8 years	27.0	24.4	25.1	12.1
High School: 1-3 years	13.8	15.7	15.2	21.8
4 years	8.9	24.2	20.2	29.4
College: 1-3 years	4.3	11.4	9.5	20.3
4 years or more	4.0	13.5	11.0	14.4
Not reported	1.5	1.2	1.3	-
Persons 25 years and over	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median school year completed	7.6	11.8	10.3	12.5

a. Computed from the Sixteenth Census of the United States, Washington, D. C. Population and Housing, Table 3a, 1940.

b. Ibid., for Maryland

level of whites and Negroes in Washington indicates that this is the case. Thus, the median school year completed by all adults in Washington was ten and three-tenths per cent years. That for the Negroes was less than eight years, while the median for the whites alone was almost twelve. This is still almost one grade lower than the median for Greenbelt, a small but perhaps a significant difference.[1] A further occupational selection (see below) probably accounts for the difference.

(e) Religious Comparison. Although quotas were prepared for each major religious group, the selection process apparently disregarded them. Of course, unreliable statistics on religious affiliation may have made the task of assigning quotas difficult. However, we were successful in creating a crude table of the religious composition of Washington and Greenbelt.[2]

From this table we note that Greenbelt is predominately a protestant community. Catholics are underrepresented, comprising only one-quarter of the total. The Washington statistics include Negroes who are predominately protestant. Were quotas computed for whites alone, the contrast with Greenbelters would have indicated a further underrepresentation of Catholics and Jews. It is difficult to account for this underselection

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[1] A hand tally of the education of Greenbelt wage earners for 1942 produces slightly different distribution. This will be brought out at a later point.

[2] Figures for Washington and Greenbelt are not strictly comparable, for the former are church memberships and the latter religious affiliation.

TABLE IV

RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AND GREENBELT, MARYLAND

	Washington[a]		Greenbelt[b]	
Religion	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Roman Catholic	83,840	30.8	573	24.9
Jewish	18,350	6.8	162	7.0
Protestant & Others	169,534	62.4	1,567	68.1
Totals	271,724	100.0	2,302	100.0

a. United States Census of Religious Bodies, 1935.
b. Hand tally of original sheets from the Farm Security Administration files.

except that possibly protestants may have applied in greater proportions than did the Catholics. If Government workers in Washington are to a larger extent protestants than non-government workers, such a selection as resulted would follow since Greenbelt has overrepresentation of government workers.[1] The occupational distribution of Greenbelters may also be partially responsible.

(f) Occupational Distribution. The occupational composition of Greenbelt heads of families is sociologically very important. Table V suggests that Greenbelters are overwhelmingly salaried employees and wage workers. Less than five per cent are self-employed or employ other people. This is lower than for Washington as a whole, but higher than the proportion of Negroes in Washington who were proprietors.

Less than one-quarter of Greenbelt workers are engaged in manual

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[1] Seventy-five per cent of Greenbelt workers were in the Federal service. The quota was only fifty per cent.

TABLE V

OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION OF WHITES AND NON-WHITES IN WASHINGTON, D.C. AND GREENBELT, MARYLAND, IN PERCENTAGES: 1940

Occupation	Washington White	Washington Negro	Washington Total	Greenbelt White only
Manual "productive" work	22.2	33.9	35.2	18.6
Domestic & other services	10.6	53.7	21.9	5.5
Professional & semi-professional services	13.9	3.8	11.3	13.5
Proprietory, managerial, & official services	9.4	1.2	7.2	4.9
Clerical & kindred services	43.2	6.8	33.7	56.4
Occupations not reported	.6	.6	.6	1.2
Total	99.9	100.0	899.9	100.0

a. Calculated from the Sixteenth Census of the United States, op. cit.

labor in contrast to about a third of such workers in the District. Similar divergences are noted for domestic and service workers, one-fifth for Washington and only five per cent for Greenbelt. The preponderance of workers in both places are salaried employees, although Greenbelt has a larger proportion. Fifty-six per cent of Greenbelt earners are clerks of one kind or another. The proportion of professional and semi-professional workers constitute about one-eighth of the total for both Washington and Greenbelt.

It is readily observed that the occupational distributions of Washington whites and Greenbelt are more similar than the distributions of Washington as a whole, which includes the Negroes, and Greenbelt. The most striking attributes of Greenbelt are the small proportion of independent business man, the underrepresentation of manual and service workers, and the overrepresentation of clerical and kindred workers. The latter are largely government clerks, while more salespersons are included in the Washington category. We shall return to a most detailed occupational analysis in another section.

(g) Summary. The building of Greenbelt was part of the New Deal program to bring better housing to those of modest incomes, and to stimulate industry and business. Although the Greenbelt towns were reputedly built on a demonstration basis, some groups in the country feared that this was the beginning of government competition in the field of housing. Although federal officials were mainly concerned with the ideological implication of such adventures, verbal opposition to the program was based primarily on the cost and waste involved in building such towns. The press

of the nation on the whole was rather critical of such Government enterprises, and of Greenbelt in particular. With time, however, criticism tended to subside, especially after the town was occupied and the residents began to run their own affairs.

The citizens of Greenbelt have to live under a peculiar administrative and governmental arrangement. Although they elected a town council which had the usual powers of such bodies, the dependence of the town on the federal government for finances diminished its autonomy. The fact that the town manager and the community manager was the same individual tended to make the segregation of federal and local functions difficult. Much of the same equipment, as well as personnel were used by both authorities, indicating that their separation was more theoretical than actual. The preponderance of authority, however, tended to be concentrated in the federal administration.

The dominance of the federal government in the town has in large part been responsible for the fact that more active interest in local, county, and state politics has not been indicated by the average citizen. The Administration has regretted this apathy and has resorted to several means of overcoming it. It has been only partially successful in this effort. The structural attributes of the Government, and employment outside of Greenbelt, makes it unlikely that the "problem" of non-participation will be solved in the near future.

The demographic characteristics of the occupants of Greenbelt were

not left to chance. Since the intention was to get a cross-section of Washington, D. C., we have presented Greenbelt's actual population characteristics in comparison with that of the Capitol. This enabled us to understand the parent population upon which, as we shall see, the Greenbelt is dependent. The Resettlement Administration stipulated very carefully the type of people which it would permit to reside in Greenbelt. These people have the following characteristics: They are young people. The average age of the community in 1940 was only twenty-four years, and the average age of the head of the family was only thirty-four. The sex ratio of the community is, on the whole, even. As one would expect, the birth rate of the community is high, but probably not unduly high when the age structure is considered. Greenbelt, however, has an "unusually" high proportion of babies and young children. Adolescents, "young adults," and old people are underrepresented, as judged by other "communities." This unusual age structure affects the participation patterns in the town.

Greenbelt is homogeneous as to race. Ninety-seven per cent of the citizens are native white. Religiously, protestants dominate the town, and Jews and Catholics are underrepresented. Greenbelt's adults apparently have had rather moderate opportunities, for two-thirds of them received a high school education or better. This apparently has affected their occupational choices, for over two-thirds are salaried workers. The majority of these are office workers in the federal government.

CHAPTER III

COMMUNITIES, GARDEN CITIES, AND SUBURBS

1: Definition of types of settlements

We are primarily concerned with describing and explaining an unusual type of settlement, but we are also concerned with studying social and occupational stratification in a particular locale. We should, therefore, like to inspect and review "community studies" that focus their attention on this general field. But first, we should decide exactly what we mean by "community," and whether Greenbelt fulfills its criteria. If it does not, we must discover what type of settlement Greenbelt may most appropriately be considered. The reasons why it is necessary to arrive at some preliminary decisions concerning the sociological nature of the settlement of Greenbelt are as follows:

First, such a decision will enable a comparative use of descriptive materials concerning similar settlements.

Second, we may obtain leads as to what methodologies may be suited to our purposes.

Third, we may determine roughly the limit or extent of the generalizability of our findings to other settlements.

The three basic types of settlements which <u>might</u> describe Greenbelt are "community," "garden city," and "suburb." We shall first outline the sociological characteristics of each, and then determine empirically which

Greenbelt approximates most closely.

(a) The Sociological Nature of Community. Since "community" is the broadest and most basic, we shall begin with it. For a number of reasons, the term "community" has often been used as a eulogism with only a vague referent. The concept has been used in so many different ways that one might conclude that almost any social nucleation may be thus labelled.[1]

At times, the concept is not defined, but inferred from usage. Thus, the Lynds used "community" as synomymous to the institutions "in and by which the people organize their living."[2] This is useful, but is more comprehensive than precise.

Sanderson, in his earlier writings maintained, contrary to some of the above definitions, that a "community" is the "smallest geographic unit of organized association of the chief human activities.[3] Thus he insisted, though "communities" may exist within a city, the city itself is not a "community" but a mere aggregate of people. Later, he modified this

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[1] See W. L. Warner and P. S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 16. A community denotes "a number of people showing certain interests, sentiments, and behavior in common by virtue of belonging to a social group." The authors also define "community" in three other ways: pp. 16, 17.

[2] See R. S. Lynd and H. M. Lynd, Middletown (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1929). W. F. Ogburn and M. Nimkoff accept a similar meaning. To them a "community" is a collection of special institutions.... an organization of a group occupying a limited territory." See their Sociology (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940), p. 591.

[3] Underlying mine, See D. Sanderson, Publications of the American Sociological Society, 14:84-86, J. Steiner in his Community Organization (New York: The Appleton-Century Company, 1930), accepts this definition.

orientation and maintained that the important characteristic of a "community" was "the social relationships that restrict and guide human behavior."[1] This definition lacks specificity concerning the amount of control that a "community" plays in the lives of its members.

MacIver abandons the spatial element altogether. He says that a "community" is a "pyschic unity" which transcends the adjacent geographic location. More important than space are the common interests which unite individuals who may be geographically separated. A "community" includes those individuals who share interests wide and complete enough to include their entire life.[2] This definition is not very workable, for its limits are not easily determinable. The same criticism may be levelled at many other definitions.[3] For example, in the usage of Park and Burgess, the term is applied to "societies and social groups where they are considered from the point of view of the geographic

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[1] D. Sanderson and R. A. Polson, Rural Community Organization (New York: J. Wiley and Sons Incorporated, 1939), p. 50. "The real community from the sociological standpoint is the form of association between people and institutions in a given area....It is a pattern of behavior or psychic interaction between the people and their institutions in a local area.

[2] R. M. MacIver, Society Its Structure and Changes (New York: Long and Smith Incorporated, 1934), pp. 9-12.

[3] For example see Carle Zimmerman, The Changing Community (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938), p. 630. He specifies various types as "normal," "formal," and "real" communities. Although he develops notions of "community personalities," his basic definition is simple and inadequate. "A community is a group of people in a limited area whose association is distinguished by certain definite traits."

distribution of individuals and institution of which they are composed.[1] This includes larger social nucleations as nations, and even combinations of nations.

Examining further definitions is rather unprofitable. The above serves to demonstrate that the concept in question is used variously by different people to refer to different things.[2] Under such circumstances it is quite impossible to decide which definition is the "best." One must either select a definition most suitable for one's research aims, or enumerate some necessary characteristics which may exist in every "community."

By and large, most research with this concept has been done by rural sociologists, and more recently by the social anthropologists.

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[1] R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), p. 493. J. H. Kolb and E. De S. Brunner use Park and Burgess' definition in their Study of Rural Society (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940). This definition is especially confusing, inasmuch as some sociologists desire that the "community" be understood only in contrast to "society." By this process they hope to parallel the distinction made in European literature of gemeinschaft and gesellschaft. Desirable as this may be, neither "society" nor "community" has such an analogous connotation in the American literature. Indeed, so confused is our terminology that each concept has been employed, (1) to include the other (2) as opposite to the other.

[2] E. C. Lindeman in "community." Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (New York: MacMillian Company, 1934) generalizes, not without reason, in this manner: Older conceptions of community were more spatially orientated, while more modern ones lay greater emphasis on "processual" relationships. The prototype of the former is seen in Galpin and his students who defined and located a community in terms of area that its social and economic institutions serviced. See Charles J. Galpin, "The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community," Research Bulletin 34, University of Wisconsin, Agricultural Experiment Station. Exemplary of the "modern" school is Paul H. Landis, Rural Life in Process (New York: McGraw-Hill Company, 1941). The two views are often combined today.

Thus, it is very probable that their mental images were focused on smaller rural localities or on isolated tribes and clans. If any uniformity may be distilled from the multitudinous uses, it probably deals with the peculiar social characteristics of such nucleations. As Tönnies suggested, those pluralities show indications in their social organization and relations approximating the ideal-type, gemeinschaft.[1]

Perhaps with such a distinction in mind, Louis Wirth characterized a "community" as having "a territorial base, distribution in space of men, institutions and activities, close living together on the basis of kinship and organic interdependence, and a common life based on mutual correspondence of interest...."[2] These factors, plus certain implications which flow from them, we believe adequately define "community." The added criteria are: (1) self-consciousness, or awareness of identity, (2) an economic basis within the territory, such that most residents earn their living within the territory, and (3) a parallel approach to "self-sufficiency" in major areas of social participation. Some settlements approach the conditions in the definition more so than do others.

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[1] It is not necessary to enumerate here all the conditions associated with a gemeinschaft settlement. It is sufficient to indicate that a settlement that tends to be small, bound by kinship, rigid tradition, common interests, and "natural, common will," "tends to be fulfill the requirements of gemeinschaft organization. "Loosely bound" settlements such as cities display opposite gesellschaft characteristics. See F. Tönnies Fundamental Concept of Sociology, translated by C. P. Loomis (New York: American Book Company, 1940).

[2] "The Scope and Problems of the Community," Publications American Sociological Society, 27:61-73, May, 1933.

The task here is to demonstrate whether a given settlement tends to approximate a community or some other type of settlement. Although it is possible for large cities to approach the community ideal, the probability is greater for smaller localities. This is so because the latter are more closely integrated around the family and neighborhood "axes," while larger industrial settlements tend toward occupational and ecological integration.[1] For this reason, we hesitate to classify, without qualification, larger urban and metropolitan centers as communities. Although they are self-sufficient in essential services, their size encourages anonymity and categories relations. Mutual interests, if existent, are often unrecognized. Some people have regarded this trend as pathological and have recommended the decentralization of metropolises as an antidote. It would then be possible, they maintain, to reestablish the community stability characteristic of smaller localities. Greenbelt was supposed to be an attempt to actuate this theory. We shall next examine the sociological requisites of decentralized cities and "garden cities."

(b) The Characteristics of Decentralized and Garden Cities. The plans of Robert Owen, conceiver of the decentralized city, have materialized in Europe and America. He envisioned well-planned small towns (factory colonies) as antidotes to the pathologies and slums of the larger metropolises.[2] Factory owners, in many instances distorted his plans to secure more control over their workers. The architectural

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[1] See Roderick McKenzie, The Metropolitan Community (New York: McGraw-Hill Company, 1933).

[2] New Views of Society, London, 1913.

prerequisites were followed by some, but not the social prerequisites. Some of these one-industry, "company" towns had bitter histories of conflict. The owners, isolated from effective competition, were able to control a greater area of the lives of the workers than was possible in the larger centers.[1] Furthermore, the uncertainty of the capitalist market, and the collapse of certain industries meant that the entire population suddenly became destitute and pauperized.

Ebenezer Howard, foreseeing some of the shortcomings of this and other types of decentralized industrial centers, conceived a totally new substitute, the "garden city." This type of settlement was to overcome both the deficiencies of the "megalopolis," as well as those of rural areas.[2]

The primary concern of the garden town is to realize stable and small "balanced" communities by conscious, purposeful planning. The towns are "balanced" in the sense that they have two economic bases; one provided by mechanical industry and the other by agriculture. The town

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[1] In Big cities, occupational movement is possible if conditions in one factory become intolerable. The total, often tyrannical control in one-company towns, is of course, objectional to the worker. For this reason, Labor has always been suspicious of decentralized cities. They realized that the latter were built to escape unionization. Furthermore, the high standard of living first introduced is oftenlowered in the face of competition, or as a demand for increased profits by stockholders.

[2] See Ebenezer Howard, Garden Cities of Tomorrow, London, 1902, earlier published as Tomorrow, London, 1898. See Also L. Mumford, The Culture of Cities (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1938), pp. 392-401, for the modern application of the garden city.

itself is rationally planned for healthful living, by providing decent housing in spacious lots. Surrounding the town is an agricultural belt, the functions of which are: (1) to provide food and produce for the town and (2) to act as a buffer against encroaching cities. All the land, both in the town and in the "garden belt" is communally owned. The town is kept small and all growth is rationally planned in reference to the expanding economic base. The latter, of course, refers to nearby industries and manufacturing plants in which the townspeople work.

Alongside the housing, industrial, and population control is a proviso for complete social services. All educational, economic, recreational, political, and social services or facilities are located in the town. These institutions are regulated and guided by the citizenry as a whole, preferably through cooperative methods. Ideally, the settlement is independent, self-centered, and self-sufficient. Insofar as possible, complete physical and social decentralization from other cities is attempted. The social relations of small independent rural areas are "wedded" with the physical advantages of the urban areas.[1] The aim, in short, is to make a real community, which would fit into a larger regional plan.

(c) Suburbs and Their Attributes. The third type of settlement is the suburb. What are the characteristics of suburbs? Is Greenbelt a suburb? May the suburb also be a community? No categoric answers may be made to these inquiries. The decision depends upon the definition of the

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[1] See Mumford, op. cit., p. 400.

suburbs, and more important, on the social characteristics of individual suburbs.

The suburb is, of course, associated with urban areas. As Douglass says, "It is the push of the city outward....It is the city trying to escape the consequences of being a city while still remaining a city. It is urban society, trying to eat its cake and keep it too."[1] Yet it has characteristics that distinguish it both from the city and the surrounding rural area. Most obvious of these is the fact that it is roomier than the city, but more crowded than the open country. That it is economically dependent on the city rather than on the country is demonstrated by the highly developed transit system to the heart of the city, and the inevitable symbol of the suburb, the commuter.

Douglass distinguishes three main types of suburbs, according to the factor or factors decentralized from the metropolis; "residential," "industrial," and "mixed."[2] We are inclined to agree with his general position that regardless of type, "the more distant [they are] from the city [other things being equal] the less closely related a suburb is

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[1] H. P. Douglass, The Suburban Trend (New York: Century Company, 1925), p. 4.

[2] See H. P. Douglass, "Suburbs," Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, op. cit. See also, The Suburban Trend, op. cit., p. 29. One may objectively determine the type of suburb by comparing the proportion of industrial wage-earners in the suburb to the proportion in the parent city. If less it is "residential;" if more, "industrial;" if the same, "mixed." Innumerable other types of suburbs may be listed according to function decentralized, as for example: rich, poor; native, foreign; children; planned, unplanned; specialized, non-specialized suburbs, and so forth.

[to the mother city] and the more independent is its community life."[1] The reverse also tends to be true. Usually when a suburb is close to the metropolis, the latter provides many of its services. The suburbanites also satisfies many of his chief interests in the metropolis.[2]

Under such conditions, the development of an independent institutional life, and the parallel growth of consensus and community consciousness becomes increasingly improbable. The internal integration of the suburb rarely becomes as complete as that in the city or in the surrounding rural localities. The suburb is placed in the anomalous position of not being able to divorce itself from the city, nor attaching itself to the country. But the culture and interests of its residents remain predominately urban. This is not surprising since the economic support of the residential suburb is dependent on the metropolis, where the majority of male earners work.[3] Furthermore, the suburb is economically incapable of reproducing many of the city's services. This means commuting to the city and "borrowing" them. These facts provide the key to the two typical problems of the residential suburb; lack of male integration, and the commuter-non-commuter conflict.

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[1] Loc. cit.

[2] See Roderick D. McKenzie, The Metropolitan Community (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1935), p. 76, for a comparison of the residentials and industrial suburb in respect to this factor.

[3] Business contacts must usually be made there, as well as the "social" contacts important in business. At the same time commuting and concentrating on suburban affairs often distract from the main focus of career-pursuit in the city. Mumford, op. cit., pp. 216-218, graphically depicts the split-type personality that characterizes the commuting breadwinner.

Contrariwise, the "independent town is normally a community with a complete range of functions largely centralized and under a dominant natural leadership--all of which the suburb characteristically is not."[1] But despite this deficiency in major social institutions, suburbs typically have an overabundance of small, narrow, relatively unimportant organizations.[2] This may be a type of compensatory phenomenon, a substitute for strong, permanent community ties.

2: Greenbelt; Community, Garden City, or Suburb?

Certain factors known about Greenbelt now allow us to make a preliminary decision as to whether Greenbelt is a community, garden city, or a suburb

(a) Is Greenbelt a Community? It may be stated without many reservations that Greenbelt is not a community. In the first place, the town does not satisfy the criterion of occupational self-sufficiency and unity. The residents have little or no economic investment in the town. Over ninety per cent of them are gainfully employed [illegible] outside of the town. Their occupational interests are naturally centered in Washington. Many of their friends, work associates, and what is more important, their supervisors, live in the Capitol. These social relationships must be kept up before the neighborhood ones.

The money earned in Washington is only partially spent in Greenbelt. "Heavy" purchases, such as clothing and furnitures, must be made

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[1] Douglass op. cit., p. 182.

[2] Loc. cit.

in Washington. Not everyone even purchases groceries in Greenbelt. Many of those that do, do so grudgingly. Some protest against cooperatives having a monopoly in the town. They are even inclined to regard the managers with critical hostility. Only a small amount of loyalty is had toward the cooperatives and their employees.

The geographic limits of Greenbelt are well-defined, but the town lacks other attributes usually associated with communities. Though the people reside close to one another, it is clear that they are not bound by organic kinship ties. Neither are neighborhood ties very strong, for the majority do not even claim them.[1] This is not remarkable since Greenbelters derive from all divisions of the country[2], and have quite divergent backgrounds. They are not "bound" by common mutual ties in the town's activities. If ties are present, they tend to be specific special-interests ties.

It may be that the town is too young to develop tradition and common ties. The "first families" do have more loyalty to the town perhaps, but they are few. It has been difficult to create a stable town because of the high transciency rate. The turn-over of family units has hovered around fifteen per cent a year, before the war. High incomes and

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[1] See the results of interviewing on this problem, Part IV.

[2] The distribution of Greenbelters by region of birth is as follows: Northeast, fifty-three per cent; Southeast fifteen per cent; Middle States, twenty-one per cent; Northwest, seven per cent; Southwest, three per cent; and far west, one per cent. The Northeast is overrepresented and the remainder slightly underrepresented, as of 1930.

and decentralization of government bureaus has forced out some of the older residents. Since home ownership in Greenbelt has been made difficult,[1] many regard the town as a temporary refuge. This fact is reflected in their attitude toward "community affairs," and home ownership.

It is clear that many residents do not regard Greenbelt as their central physical anchorage. The personal column in the Cooperator indicates that they "go home" for vacations, and not to anonymous pleasure resorts. Those that intend to build homes do not envision doing so in Greenbelt. People do not get married in Greenbelt by Greenbelt clergy. Neither do they get buried in the local cemetary when they die.[2] The administration is aware of this lack of local consciousness. Chapter II described the attempts of the Administration to "foster a Greenbelt spirit." The fact that such a program is consciously conceived as a "problem" indicates the absence of the self-awareness typical of the community.

As noted above, the residents are bound more by special-interests ties than by a number of basic general ones. If they are aware of themselves as Greenbelters, it is a defensive awareness, and not the assured acceptance of the home town. Only the children and a few old-timers, such as are found in the American Legion, are loyal "boosters."

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[1] See the discussion of the Home Owners Cooperative below.

[2] The town clerk estimated that although sixty people have died in Greenbelt since 1937, only six were buried in the local cemetary.

Greenbelt is not "self-sufficient" in social participation. Many of its residents attend churches in nearby towns and in Washington. The priest is imported to hold a mass once on Sunday. Even in the field of recreation, which is supposed to be highly developed under the auspices of a separate municipal department, participants have to leave town. Bowling, dancing, drinking, and even movie attending pushes people into the surrounding metropolitan district. They begrudge being tied down by inferior transportation facilities.

(b) Greenbelt as a Garden City. The planners of Greenbelt conceived as one of their objects the fulfillment of the above ideas of Howard.[1] Radburn, New Jersey, apparently a successful American counterpart of foreign garden cities, was pointed to as a model to be emulated. Do Greenbelt and other American garden towns[2] approximate in their social relations, the requisites of garden cities, or decentralized cities? There are reasons to believe that all American garden cities have fallen short of the ideal plans. Below are enumerated some of these reasons,

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[1] The earlier literature of the Resettlement Administration was devoted to explaining the ideas of the garden city and demonstrating its practicability. See pamphlets, Greenbelt Towns, September, 1936, and Greenbelt Communities, January, 1940; Washington, United States Government Printing Office. In these are given descriptions of Welwyn and Letchworth, successful examples of garden cities of England.

[2] There are reputedly at least four such towns in the United States. Radburn, New Jersey is a private development. Greenbelt, Maryland; Greendale, Wisconsin; and Greenhills, Ohio were all built by the federal government.

all of which apply to Greenbelt.

(1) None of the American garden towns have within their corporate limits industries in which the townspeople work. In every case the worker must commute daily to large metropolitan centers, where they are employed in large offices or industries.[1] The only partial exception to this is Greenbelt, Maryland, located near the Federal Agriculture Research Center. However, very few Greenbelters work there because most of the Center's employees work and live next to the center itself, that is, at Beltsville. Some of the garden cities abroad have, of course, industrial bases.[2]

(2) There is no functioning agricultural reserve around the town, which fulfills the local need for farm produce. Although physically there is the space for this, no provisions have been made to institute an agricultural program. The original plans for the Greenbelt towns called for rural homesteads to be built and supervised by the town.[3] But in no case was this done. Garden plots, however, were rented to town inhabitants.

(3) None of the towns are self-sufficient in reference to their social and economic services. This is not to say that they are bereft

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[1] This, of course, means that the towns are not decentralized or satellite cities, since the primary attribute of such localities is the presence and dominance of supporting industry. See R. B. Hudson, Radburn A Plan of Living (New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1939).

[2] See Thomas Adams, The Design of Residential Areas (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934), pp. 247-259. Here are actual platt maps of foreign cities showing how the industrial areas are distributed about the towns.

[3] Inspect the plans in "Greenbelt Towns," The Architectual Record, September, 1936.

of them. On the contrary, extensive plans to provide such services have been made, some of which have been realized. Such organizations as "special interest" groups have at times been more than plentiful. In fact, one may venture to say that in their early days, the towns were "overorganized". The mortality rate of organizations was high. But, more important, the towns lacked some of the major social institutions.[1] Thus, the "community-centered" neighborhoods aimed at, were not achieved. On the contrary, the metropolis still occupies first place in the hearts and interests of most of the men at least.

(4) There is no immediate possibility with the present occupants to make these towns balanced agricultural-industrial communities. This follows from their occupational compositions, which indicate preponderant proportions of white-collar, semi-professional, and skilled workers.[2] Without agricultural and other "productive" workers, the "balanced" communities that Howard dreamed about cannot be realized.

(c) Greenbelt as a Suburb. Greenbelt is a suburb with the face of a garden city. It is in a metropolitan area; it is dependent for many goods and services on its mother city, Washington. One peculiar attribute of Greenbelt as a suburb is the fact that

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[1] Above we mentioned that heavy purchases cannot be made; religious services are not complete; banking is usually done in the central city; fraternal organizations are underrepresented; even recreation is pursued in the metropolis. The politics of the local area are subsidiary to the politics of the big city, and of the federal government.

[2] In Radburn, New Jersey, most of the heads of families are highly paid salesmen, engineers, junior executives, managers, and professionals. See Hudson op. cit. pp 13-14. In Greenbelt, Maryland, over seventy per cent of the heads of families are salaried employees. Most of these are clerks, but also represented are small proportions of skilled laborers and semi-professionals.

it is an "exclusive" residential suburb for lower middle economic groups. It is also occupationally more homogeneous than many suburbs. Its suburban character, however, cannot be denied.

Regardless of the sociological nature of Greenbelt (community, garden city, or suburb) it is in order that we should review several studies of human settlements.

3: Types of "Community" Studies

Specifically, we shall examine these studies in order (1) to enable us to become aware of the range and type of studies of smaller settlements, (2) to discover any general approaches which might prove fruitful for our own study, and (3) to permit us to become acquainted with the various techniques employed in the study of stratification in various settlements.

"Community" studies more or less follow four approaches: ecological investigations, rural studies, modern anthropological surveys, and sociological studies.[1] Since the number of such investigations is large, we shall have to select only a few of the more typical ones, as well as those that have some bearing on those problems that interest us. These would especially concern social stratification and the actions and attitudes which are involved in phenomena of stratification.

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[1] This classification is not composed of mutually exclusive categories, nor is it systematic. It is merely a device to order the materials to a small degree.

(a) Ecological Studies. The social ecologists have made many "community" studies. At times it is difficult to segregate their approach from that of the rural and urban sociologists. One of the basic tenants of the ecologists is that most social action is territorially orientated. They believe that they can relate social categories and actions to physical distances and physical effects. Their main contribution has been a methodology of locating "natural" and "community areas." They have evolved complex techniques for measuring and defining[1] "natural" areas of urban and metropolitan settlements.[2] They have even begun to be interested in the study of the larger "region."[3]

On the whole, however, the focus of the ecologists have been on the smaller "natural" areas within the city. The latter are said to come into existence through the operation of various ecological processes that result from competition for space. Succession, displace-

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[1] Their success here has recently been challenged. M. S. Alihan indicates in her Social Ecology, A Critical Analysis (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), that the ecologists have not agreed on a definition of "community." The contrast they make between "community" and "society" is vague, contradictory, and too "abstract."

[2] The late R. D. McKenzie was particularly interested in defining the metropolitan community. See especially Part ii of The Metropolitan Community, op. cit. See also the number of attempts to define cities and communities in terms of dominance over the hinterland, or in terms of services given. Among the typical studies here are R. E. Park, "Urbanization as Measured by Newspaper Circulation," American Journal of Sociology, 35:60-79; C. Menefee, "Newspaper Circulation and Urban Regions," Sociology and Social Research, 21:63-66; M. H. Leiffer, "A Method for Determining Urban Boundaries," Publications of the American Sociological Society, 26:137-145; N. S. Gras, "The Rise of the Metropolitan Community," Ibid., 29:215-218.

[3] The regional sociologists have assumed the region to be the sphere of their specialty. They and the ecologists, however, were preceded by the social anthropologists. For contributions of the latter, see R. Redfield, "The Regional Aspect of Culture," Publication of the American Sociological Society, 26:215-218, C. Wissler, American Indian, pp. 33-42, 1917.

ment, invasion, concentration, centralization, segregation, and others are the ecological processes that produce fairly homogeneous areas or "zones," as the zones of business, transition, residence, industry, slum, apartment house, and others.

The crucial question is whether these "natural areas" constitute communities. Many ecologists maintain that they do.[1] A brief review of the literature will demonstrate that "natural area" is used to include all types of areas ranging from neighborhood to the world. "Natural area" is used largely in the physical sense at times, and at other times in a sociological vein. "Community" is also employed as loosely.[2] However, what is referred to as the "zone" in the city is the most frequent example of what is meant by "natural area" or "community."

Specialized studies of these particular zones indicate that they rest on physical, economic, status, ethnic, occupational, and other important differences. From these "areal" studies have emerged interesting descriptions of certain social types, such as the "hobo," the "marginal man," the "furnished room dweller," and so forth.[3] The types

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[1] Cf. R. E. Park, "The City as a Social Laboratory," Chicago, an Experiment in Social Science Research (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), edited by Smith and White; R. D. McKenzie, "The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community" in Park, Burgess, et. al., The City (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), E. W. Burgess, "Can Neighborhood Work Have a Scientific Basis?" Ibid.

[2] See Alihan, op. cit. Chapter 8, "Natural Areas."

[3] Cf. L. Wirth, The Ghetto (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928); H. W. Zorbaugh, Gold Coast and the Slum (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929); C. R. Shaw, Delinquency Areas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929); J. A. Quinn, "Community Studies in Cincinnati," Publications of American Sociological Society, 25:143-146; H. W. Zorbaugh "The Dweller in Furnished Rooms," An Urban Type," Publications of American Sociological Society, 20:83-89.

reputedly come into being as the result of the operation of peculiar ecological forces.

The delineation of the "zones" might provide the basis of studying groups separated not only by physical and spatial barriers; but also by economic, social, and ideological differences. In short, the approach could study "zones" or "communities" intensively as examples of "areal social stratification." But ecologists as a whole have not been too interested in using their techniques and data in this manner.[1] They "muff" opportunity to use and test social theory. One reason for this is that most social ecologists seem either uninterested in or are not aware of theories and terminologies of social stratification.

(b) Rural Community Studies. Perhaps the greatest number of "community studies" have been made by the rural sociologists. Many claim to have followed, in broad outline, the ethnological or anthropological method of describing cultural areas.[2] This task has been interpreted as formulating unbiased and complete descriptions of "communities as wholes." The

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[1] The bibliography on ecology indicates a very small proportion of "community studies" as we have defined them. There is likewise an absence of systematic stratification research. The outstanding exception here is that of Zorbaugh, The Gold Coast and the Slum, op. cit., and this study is perhaps more sociological than ecological. An extended bibliography on social ecology may be found in H. E. Barnes, H. Becker, and F. B. Becker, Contemporary Social Theory (New York: Appleton-Century Company, Incorporated, 1940) See in particular, Chapter 8, "The Development of Human Ecology in Sociology" by J. A. Quinn. See also J. A. Quinn, "Topical Summary of Current Literature on Human Ecology," American Journal of Sociology, 46:191-226, September, 1940.

[2] See Clark Wissler, op. cit.; ___, "The Culture Area Concept as a Research Lead," American Journal of Sociology, 33:899-900, May, 1928.

majority of studies, however, have not realized this. Most of them have merely described the social organizations of a settlement and have let it go at that. The interrelationship of insitutions, supposedly the central theme of anthropological research, has been neglected. A "survey of community resources" has been often substituted for the ethnological account. Of course, complete anthropological descriptions should include materials on all types of social stratification and how it affects attitudes and behavior. Due perhaps, to the "strain toward democracy" among rural sociologists, these problems have been largely neglected.[1]

The gross problem to which the rural sociologists have addressed themselves is this: The American rural community is of the dispersed type, as contrasted to the village type in Europe and Asia. This has meant that in the United States rural communities are not as clearly "defined" as in Europe.[2] Nor do they appear to possess the social cohesion and services that the village-type settlement possesses.[3] The reasons why

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[1] See C. Wright Mills, "The Professional Ideology of Social Pathologists," American Journal of Sociology, 49:165-180, September 1943. The ideology of this group is perhaps similar to that of the rural sociologists.

[2] The effort to "locate community boundaries" was begun by Galpin, op. cit., who conceived the limits of the community to coincide with its trade boundaries. This type of study is the specialty of the extension sociologist. See for example L. S. Dodson, and R. N. Woodworth, D. Ensminger, Rural Community Organization in Washington and Federick Counties, Maryland, University of Maryland Agricultural Experiment Station, College Park, Maryland, 1940, Number 437.

[3] To overcome this drawback, the "community organization movement" arose whose main purpose was to integrate more thoroughly the social life of the village and the surrounding rural districts. The movement sometimes takes on aspect of a cult, which extols the rural way of life. Cf. N. L. Simms, The Rural Community (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920); E. C. Lindeman The Community (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1933). The way to preserve this way of community organizations. A movement. Sanderson and Polson, Rural Community Organization, op. cit.; D. Sanderson, Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organizations (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1942). The "ritual" proposed is centralizing the school, starting community councils, consolidating churches, organizing neighborhoods, and cooperatives, and stimulating leadership.

this is so can not be answered without an analysis of the divisions and cleavages existing in a social organization. Opportunities to investigate such things class and status hierarchies, political and ideological splits in rural communities have not been absent. Yet, only a few studies have focused on the subject.[1] It is true that community studies usually mention some causes of disorganization; or better, the reasons for the lack of community integration. Tenure, ethnic, racial, religious, status, and economic differences are mentioned as "non-integrating" factors. But their implications are not explored or exploited to explain differences in attitudes and behaviors. In fact, one obtains the impression that the rural sociologists have the "sub-conscious" purpose or desire to bury community cleavages, and not to investigate them.[2] The community organization movement, believing it has discovered the pancea of social

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[1] The presence of social stratification in rural society is becoming increasingly recognized. See T. Lynn Smith, "Trends in Community Organization and Life," American Sociological Review, 1:325-344, 1940; Carl C. Taylor, "Rural Life" American Journal of Sociology, 47:841-853, 1942; P. Landis, Rural Life in Process (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1940).

[2] Exceptions here are such studies as; J. Useem, P. Tangent, and R. Useem, "Stratification in a Praire Town," American Sociological Review, 7:331-342, June, 1942. Also studies on socio-economic status such as "Social and Economic Status in a Louisiana Hills Community," E. A. Schuler, Rural Sociology, 1940, 5:69-85; E. H. Bell, "Social Stratification in a Small Community," Scientific Monthly, 1934, 38:157-164. Such studies demonstrate that social stratification is typical of rural communities. They lack, however, material on the "subjective" aspect of status. Also, they fail, on the whole, to utilize theoretical knowledge to make their findings comparable to other studies.

cleavages, ignores the psychological differences caused by social stratification.[1]

The format of most community studies has, until recently, been rigid. It runs somewhat as follows: First, the geographic location and certain geologic characteristics of the area are described. Second a brief history of the settlement and the surrounding region is given. The boundaries of the "real" community are then described. This is followed by listing the primary social institutions, and some of the more relevant secondary associations. Then something is said about community organization.[2] In some studies, the patterns of formal and informal associations are explored and described. Finally the "problems" of the community are listed (usually the loss of population, lack of leadership, and the failure to hold youth.) This is accompanied by suggested methods of overcoming the problems.[3] The lack of any theoretical structure here

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[1] Closely related to the rural community studies are those of the small towns. The methodology is very similar to that employed in research of the rural community. The axes of stratification varies, of course, with the community surveyed. It may be (a) religion, (b) nationality, (c) occupation, (d) race, and so forth. But these studies are not interested primarily in attitudes of different social strata. Consequently, they lack intensity of analysis, and precision in conceptual framework. See for (a) and (b), E. L. Anderson, We Americans (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932); (b) and (c) A. Blumenthal, Small Town Stuff (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,1932); (c) H. Powdermaker, After Freedom (New York: Viking Press, 1939); Quaker Hill (New York: Columbia University Press, 1907).

[2] Social organization materials should, of course, include data on social stratification. This subject is usually ignored, however. See for example, W. W. Petit, Case Studies in Community Organization (New York: The Century Company, 1928).

[3] See Chapter 6 of Sanderson and Polson, op. cit. Six case histories of communities and community organization are given that approximate the above outline. See Also, Rural Life Study Series, 1 through 6, United Stated Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agriculture Economics Washington, D. C. These six community studies on "stability-instability" also follow a similar pattern. Little distinctions appear to be made between "community" studies and "community organization" studies. The former puts a little more emphasis on history and geography, the latter on methods to increase participation. Experiment station studies on community organization also approximate the above-described outline.

is conspicuous, especially in reference to problems of social stratification. This is reflected in the absence -- or rather, in the crudeness -- of stratification terminology in their investigations.

(c) Anthropological Approach. Of late, the anthropological approach to the study of societies and communities has become quite fashionable. Students of the "modern community" model their methodology on that of the ethnologist and the cultural anthropologist. They desire to study the modern community with the same "objectivity" with which the primitive tribe is approached. What is this approach, and how may it be useful to us?

We do not intend to present a complete account of the methodology of the above-named disciplines.[1] We shall mention only a few typical aims and assumptions. In the first place, anthropologists study the adjustment of the people to their physical environment, and how the environment affects their adjustment to one another. Their purpose is to consider fully the interaction of physical resources and the many elements of human society.[2] This is accomplished by conceiving society as a "rounded whole", as a configuration of the technological and social orders. In other words, the anthropologists study communities as gestalten,

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[1] See P. Radin, The Method and Theory of Ethnology (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933).

[2] See Agricultural Yearbook (1940) Part 5, Robert Redfield and W. Lloyd Warner, "Cultural Anthropology and Modern Agriculture," Washington: United States Printing Office.

as systems of closely related parts. Often, this turns out to be an account of the major social institutions of a community, tribe, or area. True, the task of analyzing all social institutions and their interrelations is a large task. If such data were supplemented by psychological materials, there would be little to desire. This would hold, if the conceptual framework and theory of the investigator were adequate.

Many anthropologists maintain that they must not approach the social life of other people with "preconceived ideas." They must "think black." This has often resulted in descriptions without theoretical anchorage. Due to paucity of conceptual tools and theories accounting for behavior, many anthropological monographs appear to be accounts on a common sense level, of unusual peoples and customs....a catalogue of beliefs, practices, technology, and so forth.[1] Although a complete ethnographic account might provide a framework to answer any questions, the probability of obtaining such an extended account even for a small group is very low.

Raw data, collected without reference to specific problems are not of specific value. A general problem might be the collection of

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[1] See Robert Redfield, The Folk Culture of Yucatan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941); A. W. Howitt, The Native Tribes of Southeast Australia (London: MacMillian and Company, Limited, 1904); W. L. Warner, A Black Civilization (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937); F. G. Burrows, Ethnology of Fortune (Honalulu: Bishop Museum, Bulletin, 138); R. Redfield, Tepoztlan, A Mexican Village (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930). The object of inquiry in these classic studies are formalized. These subjects are treated: geography, material culture, social organization including major institutions as family, religion, division of labor, magic and medicine, the ritual of life and death.

information that would enrich our understanding of the personality structures, and how they are affected by the social organization and social structure. The latter may be accomplished in part by surveying groups as wholes and disregarding the minutae,[1] or by investigating intensively one aspect (institution) of society in its relation to the others.[2] Comparing different pluralities, or analagous institutions of different groups is also useful. Such procedures are more propaedutic to the use of theory and imagination. Some of the best anthropological material, from our viewpoint, are found in a few biographies and psychoanalytic studies of ritual. These explore the attitudes and behavior as affected by the religious, economic, or other institutions.

Social anthropologists are accustomed to investigate integrated social orders.[3] Their techniques are better suited to the study of small and stable pluralities. In the larger, modern, social settlements, such an integration is not typical. Rather, the presence of many often unrelated special-interest groups is characteristic of gesselleschaft structures. Thus the reputed methodological contribution of anthropology to the study of modern society is probably overrated. The traditional

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[1] As Ruth Benedict, Patterns of Culture (Boston: Haughton, Mifflin Company, 1934).

[2] As B. Malinowski's Sex and Repression in a Savage Society (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1927); Crime and Custom in Savage Society (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1926); M. Mead, Competition and Cooperation Among Primitive People (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937); A. Kardiner, The Individual and His Society (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939). These studies depart from the orthodox institutional approach by paying particular attention to the effects of social structure on personality and adjustment.

[3] See Warner and Lunt, op. cit., p. 5

integration of the "community" is replaced today by functional, associational, or special-interest ties.[1] The main contribution of the anthropological approach is to make us aware of the fact that the types of social structures are many, and that they produce different kinds of men.

(d) Modern "Sociological" Studies. (1) The two volumes of the Lynds' Middletown and Middletown in Transition deserve special mention. They were among the first major attempts to use a stratification perspective in the study of a modern American city. As in many studies, there was no intent to prove or refute any particular thesis.[2] The stated purpose of these investigations was to describe the "major life activities" of the inhabitants of Middletown. Another aim was to analyze the forces of social change in the city.

Fortunately, the Lynds did more than this. The departure from their stated intention is of elemental interest to us. Whether intentionally or unintentionally, probably the former, they described most of the activities of Middletowners by way of "internal" contrast. This contrast was based on a dichotomy; the working class and the business class. No special technique was needed to distinguish these classes, for

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[1] The same criticisms may be made with modification to rural community studies.

[2] R. S. Lynd and H. M. Lynd, Middletown (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929), p. 3; ___, Middletown in Transition, 1934.

their gross differences were conspicuously evident. The Lynds never lost sight of the dominating importance of the job and the fundamental economic orientation of the population's behavior. This constituted the pervading and binding substructure in the analysis of all major life activities. In a sense, the Lynds documented the proposition that ideology, social honor, and political power rests on one's economic position and occupation. If the authors began with no thesis, the impression is strong that they concluded with this one.[1]

Since in some respects Middletown is a "typical" American city, we shall on occasion, contrast it with Greenbelt. The importance of having such a benchmark is obvious. Since the economic and social differentiation in Greenbelt is known to be smaller than in Middletown, as Chapters V and VII demonstrate, the comparisons should be all the more interesting.[2]

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[1] The theme of the importance of one's job and one's economic position in differentiating the population is most emphatically demonstrated in the following chapters in Middletown: "The Dominance of Getting a Living," "The Long Arm of the Job," "Why Do They Work so Hard?" "The Houses in Which Middletown Lives," Who Goes to School?" "The Organization of Leisure," "Things Making and Unmaking Group Solidarity."

[2] Work on the problem of social stratification in contemporary communities has been approached by social scientists interested in race relations. Some basic works are: H. Powdermaker, After Freedom, (New York: The Viking Press, 1939); J. Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937). However, since Greenbelt is a white settlement, we cannot employ the findings on the sociology of castes. Religio-ethnic divisions may be present in Greenbelt, but they are not primary.

(2) The most extensive "anthropological" study of a modern city is in the six-proposed volume set, Yankee City Series, The Social Life of a Modern Community by W. L. Warner and P. S. Lunt in the first and summary volume of this research.[1] It is not necessary to summarize or appraise this work in detail here. Suffice it to say that it is an investigation whose general purpose comes close to the type of study we wish to undertake in Greenbelt. By an inductive technique the authors reputedly "discovered" the existence of six "classes." The interrelations of these "classes" is explored, as well as the sociology of each "class." Greenbelt lacks the range of "social classes" in Newburyport. Perhaps comparisons of similar strata found in both settlements may enrich our understanding of each.

(3) We cannot leave this review without reference to two studies that have direct bearing on our problems. The first deals with the effect of social honor on attitudes in a rural community.[2] Although somewhat misleading in its title, the research is unique in that it attempts to indicate the relation of self-appraisal of people, with the estimation that others have of them in the "community." This is done with objective indices as occupation, education, social participation, political position, and so forth. Although the validity of the scales is open to question, the

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[1] New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941. Volume 2 The Status System of a Modern Community, 1942 is also relevant.

[2] Lawrence S. Bee, The Effect of Status on Attitudes in a New York Rural Community (Cornell: Cornell Agricultural Experiment Station, October 1942). The thesis of this study is that attitudes are functionally related to (1) the structure of the "field" in which the person operates and (2) to the position or role the person occupies in the situational field.

importance of studying such a problem is easily discernible.

Kaufman pursues this problem further, with greater methodological certainity.[1] He (1) demonstrates that "prestige classes" are recognized by members of a settlement and (2) shows how "prestige classes" are related to other social groups and activities. The bases for prestige are indicated as, for example, their relationship to such factors of income, leadership, and so forth. Such hypotheses have been stated many times, but without objective and statistical demonstration of their validity.

We are interested in this type of analysis applied to the same and associated problems. Do different occupational, economic, or other groups differ in political and social attitudes? Although we cannot answer this question fully, we should like to initiate a type of study that will make possible an objective answer to this question. Such information may contribute to the sociology of a stratum.

4: Evaluation of Studies in Terms of Problems of Greenbelt

The peculiar conditions in Greenbelt make the ecological approach inapplicable. Two main reasons account for this. First, the town has not been subject to unplanned growth. Physically speaking, in "old Greenbelt," none of the houses or areas are better than others. Second, all residents have been assigned their homes, thus eliminating the possibility of competing for them, or for various locations in the town.

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[1] See Harold F. Kaufman, A Social Psychological Study of a New York Rural Community, Ph. D. dissertation (unpublished), 1942, Cornell University library.

Ecological processes have not had the opportunity to work due to the conscious, planned effort to avoid the "evils" arising from competition for land. Ecological processes have been further inhibited in Greenbelt by the fact that the town contains people who are roughly in the same "economic class." They cannot compete for better homes or locations, on the basis of the small economic or "social" differences that may exist.[1]

Only a few of the "community" studies of the rural sociologist provided methological and informational suggestions. Most of them were too heavily oriented ecologically to be of service to us. Their primary concern is to locate the "community" or neighborhood. Also many researches displayed a preoccupation with "problems" of the community, and how they might be solved. The anthropological reports and their formats were formalized in terms of preliterate groupings. They tended to ignore, with few exceptions, the questions of social psychology, and social and ideological differentiation.

The Middletown books and the other economic and social-psychological studies of modern "communities" offered more informational and methodological suggestions for significant research on the community level. The

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[1] In ecological terminology, Greenbelt may be described as a "community" built around a secondary business zone. Although the "defense area" that surrounds the town has inferior housing, it does not contain people of lower income. "Snobpatch," or Parkbelt, a subsection of ten homes, owned by a housing corporation and occupied by professional families, is on land leased from the government for ninety-nine years.

Lynds recognized the role of the economic institution, and pursued its ramifications and effects in various non-economic categories of the society. Inadvertently, they addressed themselves to the problems almost systemtically avoided in other researches, viz., the sociology of different social strata in the "community."

A few socio-psychological studies are directly interested in such problems as how attitudes become conditioned by one's position in the social order. They explore the relations between such factors as social status, economic position, occupation, social participation, and so forth. We are interested in similar problems and the techniques to approach these problems.

5: Summary

A review of the criticisms of most of the studies reviewed indicates: (1) that they do not take into account the sociological characteristics of the settlement before research is actually begun. That is, the nature of the settlement or "community" is either not defined or it is ill-defined. Since the object of the investigations is not clearly known, it is difficult to estimate the implications of the generalizability of the findings.

(2) A habitual neglect to differentiate the various type of localities leads to the assumption that methodology is not a problem; that methodology is merely a pattern to be applied on any settlement in routine fashion. This practice originates, in part at least, from the tacit assumption of anthropologists that such divergent settlements as pre-literate

tribes and metropolitan regions are after all, the same or similar. Another assumption is that all social life is typically integrated. Although this may be true on the "formal" level, it has little meaning in terms of individual psychology. Segmentalization of life-spheres is typical of urban and in urban-like regions. The study of any particular problem, structural or attitudinal, should take cognizance of this, and adjust its methodology accordingly. It is altogether possible that methodology used for the study of integrated and segmental settlements should differ considerably.

(3) Another general criticism is the lack of theoretic orientation of most "community" studies. Descriptive and depictive investigations are both necessary and valuable. However, they cannot be very useful unless the tools or concepts used to describe are well-conceived. If the terminology is loose and imprecise, the results will reflect a similar flabbiness. On the other hand, if the concepts used are incisive and precise, and their interrelation are explored and clearly defined, some theory is likely to emerge. Operating in some type of theoretical framework will improve a study that may be largely descriptive. Many studies we reviewed lacked (1) clear-cut definition of the object, (2) conceptual tools capable of accurate description, and (3) a theoretic anchorage or orientation.

Our theoretical framework is simple and explicit: We are attempting to describe a suburb and explain several types of human behavior which go on in it, in terms of several conceptions of social stratification. These we shall now examine.

CHAPTER IV

CONCEPTS OF STRATIFICATION

It is a truism that individuals observe and interpret events through the framework of their experiences. The social scientist enriches his experience and sharpens his observations by using special tools. These tools are concepts developed by himself, by others, or both. When he uses a number of tools or concepts simultaneously, or when he uses one to sharpen the other, he is operating with a "conceptual framework." The efficient use of a conceptual framework depends on the theoretical structure with which the researcher works. The theory is used to guide his activity, to test his hunches or hypothesis, and to make it possible to test the theory itself, and permit its amplification.

The main concepts which we shall examine and use are "class," "status," "occupation," and "power."

1: Class

The concept "class" is used in various ways in the literature. It is impossible to review all of its different usages here.[1] However,

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[1] See P. Sorokin, Contemporary Social Theory, op. cit., p. 543. There he cites his compilation of the usages of the concept in his System of Sociology. Thirty-two different forms of the definitions "social class" were discovered in the literature.

it may be stated that the concept is often used as if agreement on its meaning was already decided. As a matter of fact, the primary objection is that the term is used so broadly that it covers a multitude of different things. It is true that many definitions of it are of some descriptive value, but most of them are rather difficult to use in empirical research. This will be recognized as we review some of the commoner definitions.

Lundberg, in attempting to escape the ordinary pitfalls, abandons most connotations attached to the word in favor of a pure logical shell. "Class," he writes, is any assortment of people according to specified similarities or differences."[1] No agreement on a more specific meaning is thought necessary, for the meaning is specified by the researcher in each investigation according to some social characteristic that he has in mind. Such a usage would demand specification of class -- as "economic class," "age class," "sex class," and so forth. The word merely means that taxonomic divisions have been used in connection with social data.

Other definitions indicate the specific nature of the similarities or differences of the people in the "classes." Some maintain that one factor suffices in defining a class, while others insist that "classes" have a number of interrelated attributes, and that definitions must

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[1] Foundations of Sociology (New York: MacMillian Company, 1939) p. 347 G. A. Lundberg.

reflect this fact. The latter approach is that of the sociologists reared in the tradition of Sumner and Keller. They believe that "classes" may be distinguished on the basis of different "ways of life." In one manner or another, peculiar activities, unique psychological perspectives, and common ideals gradually arise to demark a class.[1] The task of enumerating or "intuiting" characteristics which make up a "different" culture or which demarcate a "psychic world," is with such a definition, difficult. The establishment of differentiating characteristics is not solved by such definitions, nor is any hint of solution provided. Definitions of a more direct research value are needed.

Other efforts to define "class" revolve around the factor of the relative permanence of group membership. "Class" is thus distinguished in a continuum, from "caste." Here emphasis is less on the different weltanschauungen of groups, but on the probability of movement in and out

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[1] See W. G. Sumner and A. G. Keller, Science of Society (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927), 1:58. "A class is definable only on the basis of its mores: the code is the class. It denotes a standard of behavior, set of ideals, in short a standard of living which is the mores. Its code is the only distinctive thing about a class." J. W. McConnell, in Evolution of Social Classes (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942), also maintains that a class exhibits itself in action and state of mind, both of these being related to environmental conditions. He further specifies a "class culture." Morris Ginsberg, "Class Consciousness," Encylopedia of the Social Sciences, follows the same type of reasoning. Classes are "groups of individuals who, through common descent, similarity of occupation, wealth, and education, have come to have a similar mode of life, a similar stock of ideas, feelings, attitudes, and forms of behavior and who, on any or all of these grounds, meet one another on equal terms and regard themselves, although with varying degrees of explicitness as belonging to one group."

of a plurality.[1] But such definitions do not suggest the criteria upon which the probability of mobility or the absence of it is dependent.[2] Apart from the fact that mobility occurs, little else of sociological significance is attached.

Other axes along which "class" has been defined are: the relation to ownership of the social means of production,[3] amount and type of political authority held,[4] being conscious of self-identity,[5] similarity of

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[1] See Kingsley Davis, "A Conceptual Analysis of Stratification," American Sociological Review, 7:309-321, June, 1942. "A class is a type of stratum in which positions are acquired at birth by succession from the parents, but may be altered by achievement or lack of it." In caste, position is acquired by descent and remains fixed. See also, P. Mombert, "Class" Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. Class exists in "those situations where gradations of rank and relations of dependence occur, associated with differences of social position and variations in both the outer and inner conditions of life so marked that we may speak of groups having a common economic position. One other premise necessary to distinguish class is that mobility from one group be possible and that it regularly occurs." Note that this definition contains elements of prestige as well as mobility, thus making the location of classes more difficult.

[2] The only suggestion is that "position" is usually determined to a degree by birth. Thus Talcott Parsons in "An Analytic Approach to Social Stratification," American Journal of Sociology, 40:841-862, May 1940, defines class as "consisting of a group of persons who are members of an effective kinship unit which, as units, are approximately equally valued."

[3] See "Communist Manifesto," K. Marx and F. Engels in the Handbook of Marxism (New York: International Publishers, 1935). "By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage labour. By proletariat the class of modern wage labourers, who having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labour power in order to live."

[4] G. Mosca, The Ruling Class (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1938), p. 50. "In all societies....two classes appear, a class that rules and a class that is ruled. The first class, always the less numerous performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that power brings, whereas the second, the more numerous class, is directed and controlled by the first in a manner that is now more or less legal, now more or less arbitrary and violent, and supplies the first in appearances at least with the material means of subsistence and with the instrumentalities that are essential to the vitality of the political organism."

[5] Alfred Bingham, Insurgent American (New York: Harpers, 1935), p. 52. "Class groups are always nebulous, and in the last analysis the vague thing called class-consciousness counts."

of occupation.[1]

We do not here wish to debate the validity or usefulness of such definitions. They are obviously constructed with an eye to special political or economic problems in modern western society. No doubt each definition is useful in increasing understanding, but to give all the attributes the same label (class) is confusing. One should attempt to use different concepts for each of the factors that delimit groups, and make possible the exploration of the relations of the attributes to the one chosen. It is also advisable, if possible, to use concepts which are helpful in describing and analyzing many different types of pluralities. Some of the above definitions are too particularistic to make this possible. Social categories rarely align themselves along an "all or none" principle. Pluralities vary in the degree that they approximate the ideal characteristics that investigators set up. Concepts describing such pluralities should, if feasible, take cognizance of this, and be capable of being quantified, or be expressed along a scale. Preciseness of a measuring instrument is the ideal in conceptual formulation. The above types of definitions are lacking on this score.

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[1] T. Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class (New York: Modern Library, 1931), pp. 1-2. "The upper classes are by custom exempt or excluded from industrial occupations, and are reserved for certain employments to which a degree of honour attaches....Manual industry, whatever has to do directly with the everyday work of getting a living is the exclusive occupation of the inferior class."

MacIver, for example, rejects any definition of "class" that centers around any factor save that of "social distance." To him, "class" has primarily a subjective character.[1] Warner and Lunt agree with this, and add that "classes" may be only "operationally defined by ranking of member of the community by other members in socially superior and inferior positions."[2] They confusingly substitute the word "class" for other concepts which contain the thought more precisely--such as "prestige groups" and "status groups." With Warner and Lunt's definition it is operationally difficult to ascertain the "position" of individuals by asking members of a settlement to rank others, especially in the larger, impersonal cities where categoric contacts are the rule. Furthermore, it ignores a basic problem; that of determining which factors give rise to the formation of "classes." For this reason, we must have a definition which permits the discovery of the bases of "class" and its relation to other objective and subjective variables.[3]

An "uni-dimensional" approach allows us to study the relations

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[1] Cf. MacIver, op. cit., p. 78; Society. A class is "any portion of the community which is marked off from the rest, not by limitations arising out of language, locality, function, or specialization, but primarily by a sense of social distance. Such a subjective character involves....objective differences, income levels, occupational distinctions, and so forth, within a society." See Also W. I. Ogburn and M. Nimkoff, Sociology (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940), p. 309. "A social class is the aggregate of persons having essentially the same social status in a given society."

[2] See Warner and Lunt, op. cit., p. 82.

[3] For a critical analysis of the primary deficiencies of the above definitions as well as a critique of the methodology of studying "social classes," see the review of Warner and Lunt, op. cit., C. Wright Mills, American Sociological Review, 7:263-271, April, 1942.

of the various elements that contribute to the "honor" of a plurality.

Max Weber's definition makes this possible. He defines "class" in the following way:

A class consists of a number of people who occupy the same "class situation."

> Class situation is understood to mean the typical chance for 1. the supply of goods, 2. the "external" position in life, 3. the internal life fate, which follows from the amount and kind of power--or lack of such--to dispose of goods and services based on achievement differentials and from their particular kind of utility for the attainment of income and goods within a given economic system.
>
> "Class is understood to mean any group of people that is found in the same class situation.
>
> a) the propertied class is understood to mean a class insofar as differences in property or possessions primarily determine the class situation.
>
> b) the "earning" (income) class is understood to mean a class insofar as the chances for marketing goods and services primarily determine the class situation.[1]

Thus the factors which creates a "class" is unambiguously economic. To determine the number of classes extant at any time, or the magnitude of separate classes, is merely a matter of setting markers along an economic continuum according to our purpose. A class in this sense, is not necessarily conscious of itself. Its members may or may not be cognizant of any similarities, and they may or may not act coordinately to further their interests.

We shall accept the above definition of class because; (a) it is clear-cut and precise, (b) it is readily and objectively applicable in

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[1] Weber, Op. cit., part 1 Chapter 4, p. 177. See also, part 3, Chapter 4.

research, (c) it makes possible the study of the relation of class to other variables, (d) it leaves open for determination the extent, if any, of psychological correlates, and (e) it can be expressed and applied in quantitative terms.

2: Status

The second major category in which we are interested is "status." Like class, the concept of status has many meanings in the literature. To Linton, social status is the position an individual occupies in a particular organization. It is the static aspect of role; or simply, "a collection of rights or duties."[1] The notion of subjective evaluation of position is either absent or undifferentiated in this definition. As noted above, this factor of societal evaluation of social roles is often included in other concepts, notably "class."[2] It would, therefore, be purposeless to review other meanings attached to "status" in view of the above discussion on class.

According to Weber, a status-group is composed of a number of people who occupy a similar "status situation." The latter refers to every component in man's life which affects either positively or negatively,

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[1] See Ralph Linton, The Study of Man (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936), p. 113. Such a definition makes impossible the distinction between what a person does and the social evaluation placed on his actions. It is too static and does not necessarily imply a hierarchy of positions.

[2] See in particular the definitions of MacIver, Warner and Parsons.

his chances to receive social honor, prestige, or recognition. The "status situation" is distinct from the "class situation." Max Weber puts it as follows:

> Status situation is understood to mean one where positive or negative privileges with respect to social esteem are typically and successfully claimed, such privileges are based on: a) style living, therefore, b) the kind of formal education, viz:
> 1. empirical
> 2. rational instruction and the possession of the corresponding modes of life.
> c) prestige of descent or occupation. In practice the status situation is expressed primarily in a) connubium, b) commensalism perhaps; c) frequently (if at all) monopolistic appropriation of privileged opportunities for income of "ostracization of certain other trades;" d) status conventions ("traditions") of all kinds.[1]

That is, economic and other elements may or may not be the basis of social honor; and honor may become associated with any quality or value shared by a plurality. Many of these values may be aspects of the "styles of life" of groups. Status groups, unlike class, tend to be aware of their identity. Their degree of self-awareness, of course, varies considerably.

3: Occupation

The third important concept for this study is "occupation." Salz, following Weber's definition, defines it as a relatively continuous activity to earn a livlihood and to maintain definite social status.[2]

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[1] Weber, op. cit., Part 1, Chapter 4, paragraph 3.

[2] See "Occupation," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.

We hesitate to endorse the second part of this definition because activity other than that embraced in making a living, contributes to and maintains social status. Weber's original definition seems more precise. "An occupation is a mode of specialization, specification, and combination of functions of an individual insofar as it constitutes for him the basis of continual opportunity for income and profit."[1] This is strictly an economic and functional definition. It is valuable because it narrows the focus of inquiry to just one thing, making it possible to observe how other associated factors relate to it.

~~4. Politics~~

The last concept to be defined has to do with "politics." Politics is the struggle for power in any phase of human living. Power is the chance of obtaining obedience, of realizing one's will against the resistance of others.[2] Power struggles, or the struggles for influence, occur whenever and wherever two or more individuals or parties struggle to have their respective wishes realized. This may occur in

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[1] Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, op. cit., Chapter 2, section 24. Thus "begging" may be considered an occupation, but it brings the operator little or no positive status today. The same applies for the gangster, the shyster lawyer, and others.

[2] Max Weber, "Class, Status, Parties," Politics, 1:5, September, 1944, translation of Weber, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, op. cit., H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. The term power has the connotation of obedience resting ultimately on force. Since naked power is evident in only a few situations in Greenbelt, we shall at times use the term "influence" instead of "power." "Influence" connotes the element of [illegible] obedience which involves prestige. See H. D. Lasswell, Politics; Who Gets What, When, and How (New York; McGraw-Hill, 1942). The term power is more unilateral in meaning and we shall use it as the primary meaning in this connection.

in government, where success may ultimately mean control of agencies of legitimate violence; or it may mean that in a small hobby group, two secretaries will be had, not one; or it may mean that the funds will be used in a particular way. We must maintain this broad focus to recognize all areas and phases of "politics" in a settlement like Greenbelt.

4: Power

Power in corporate activity may arise out of status, class, occupational, or other positions, either singly or combined. It is the job of the social scientist to determine the relationship of these variables in general, and in any specific settlement or social structure. It is perhaps clear that these concepts are basic to the description or appraisal of different groups. In fact, they may be used to define objectively different groups or strata in the society. For example, it is perhaps easier and more exact to define such broad congeries as "proletariat," "new middle class," and "bourgeoisie" in terms of these concepts that with any other combination of concepts. Of course, the task is to state the precise relationship among these factors. We shall do this for Greenbelt. First let us briefly explore some of the theoretic interrelationships of these concepts in order to sensitise ourselves to their possible range and usefulness in research.

6: Interrelations: Class, Status, Occupation, Power

(a) Some Attributes of Status. Of these four concepts, status is one of the most interesting and fascinating. One reason for this is that is is explicitly a social psychological phenomenon, whereas class may be a purely economic phenomenon.

We cannot here go into a detailed investigation of the social psychology of status, interesting and important though that may be.[1] We may only hint at the outline that status may assume, and display a small vocabulary helpful in describing status situations with some adequacy. This must be done before we can state some of the relations of status to other categories.

Status phenomena are not static, stable things. Different societies vary in the stress they place upon social honor. Some emphasize its importance to the point that any activity not directed toward its magnification is considered unworthy. Elaborate ritual may be prescribed to attain and display social honor.[2]

On the other hand, some societies show little concern for social honor, being too preoccupied perhaps with the struggle for survival.[3] Within the same society, the various social strata may place varying stress

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[1] For a penetrating psychological-philosophical treatment of this subject, see Lewis Leopold, Prestige: A Psychological Study of Social Estimates (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1913).

[2] The Kwakiutl Indians of the Pacific northwest are a case in point. "Potlatching" as a technique to increase honor is considered so important as to constitute a cultural "anxiety pattern" for certain strata of the society. See M. Mead, Competition and Cooperation Among Primitive People (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937), Chapter 6, by Irving Goldman.

[3] The Eskimo of Greenland illustrates this point. The area of competition for invidious ranking is small, and competition itself weak. Ibid., Chapter 2 by Jeannette Mirsky.

on the importance of status. For example, it has been intimated that the middle classes in contemporary western society are more status-conscious and status-hungry than the groups above and below them.[1] Again, cultures may differ in the specific segments in which the attainment of honor is considered important. The religious, political, economic, and other orders, singly or in combination, may be the center of status activity, depending on the specific cultural emphasis. Also the modes denoting recognition vary with cultures and specific pluralities.

Despite the dynamic changeable character of prestige, despite the variation in the importance, area, and mode of expressing status, its social character remains pervasive. A man's honor does not spring directly from his deeds or personality. It can exist only when and as long as others are willing to bestow honor to him. "Honorable" actions give no recognition, unless they are advertised and acknowledged as such by a body of people.

Thus in any status situation three interacting groups may be found: (1) those who receive recognition from others, the prestige bearers,(2) those who acknowledge the status of others by deferring to them, the bestowers of status, and (3) those who support or believe in

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[1] H. DeBalzac, The Middle Classes (Philadelphia: Gebbie Publishing Company, Incorporated, 1899), translated by Clara Bell and Juro Rudd; Charles Duff, Anthropological Report of a London Suburb (London: Grayson and Grayson, 1935), a satyrical phantasy with considerable sociological insight.

the status system, the observers. Although the latter two groups may coincide in the same situation, they must be separated conceptually.[1] Why each group behaves as it does can only be explained by examing specific situations.

According to Weber, there are several broad historical bases for the development of prestige.[2] One is by descent, the granting of status to those born in high status groups. We should not expect to find very little of this in Greenbelt because of the lack of tradition. Another factor that typically distinguishes status groups in their specific "mode of life." People may also be given status because of their occupation, education, "service" given to the community, their style of speech, consumption habits, and so forth. We may find evidences of these in Greenbelt.

(b) The Relations Between Status and Class. It is fairly evident that over long periods of time, high status groups tend to be also propertied groups.[3] Classes and status groups tend to merge,

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[1] For example, parents may force their children to defer to elders before the children can be aware of the significance of their actions. The parents here are the observers and the children the bestowers, since the latter may not be aware of the status system. See H. Spier, "Honor and the Social Structure," Social Research, 2:74-97, February 1935, for a discussion of these distinctions.

[2] Weber, op. cit., Part 1, Chapter 4, section 5. See also Part 3, Chapter 4, p. 134.

[3] Weber, op. cit., Part 3 Chapter 4, p. 634. Also Veblen, op. cit.

although there is no necessary coincidence between them at any particular time or place. High status groups may be poverty-stricken, as for example, the "broken-down" aristocracy of the South. The reverse of this also occurs. Some groups may have much money, yet little or no status, as the nouveau riches or parvenus. It is safe to generalize, however, that high status groups in the United States can survive long only when they have rather sufficient economic resources, and those in high classes eventually secure status.

The ideology of the status groups themselves, however, has usually been anti-monetary. Their theory has been usually that money is an ornament and not a cause of their position. The "real" basis for their honor lies in their "superior" lineage, breeding, (style of life) ability, or because they were chosen by God.[1] It is not the task of the social scientists to evaluate the claims of status groups, but they should recognize, as Veblen did, that these "superior" attributes may be perpetuated only if the status groups have sufficient economic resources.[2] It is expensive in time, money, and effort to produce "cultured" people.

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[1] Such rationalizations are summarized by Arthur Livingstone in "Theory of the Gentlemen," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. See also Mrs. John King Renselaer, The Social Ladder (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1924), Chapter 1, for the reasons why high status groups in America believe in their superiority or distinctions. Her lament is that "Society" is being usurped by gold. That is, it is becoming difficult to dente where the limits of "society" are located, because so many are buying their way into it.

[2] See Veblen, op. cit., especially Chapter 5, "Pecuniary Standard of Living."

Parvenus are "looked down upon" until they attain this "breeding." They may do so by marrying into families that do have breeding,[1] or by crudely usurping the status claims of others. Improverished status groups, on the other hand, may survive only if they secure wealth or property. They may do so by marrying parvenus. Through this mechanism, once endogamous status groups have become larger and more dispersed, and wise in the art of self-advertisement. Today, self-advertisement often means having good publicity. In several areas of society, "publicity," rather than the style of living, is becoming the sine qua non of social honor.[2] As the publicity agent or social secretary becomes more essential, so does the factor of class. Within a small upper status-groups, however, differences in wealth are less important.

(c) Occupation and Status. If prestige differences are present in Greenbelt, do small differences in income account for them? We must recall that the differences in wealth in the town are small. There are no "property owners." If class is not responsible, what other factors may operate? One of the more important indices for gauging social honor of an individual is his occupation. This tends to be less true in a society that is occupationally homogeneous, but contemporary western

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[1] The purchase of titles by bourgeois in Europe is a technique in point.

[2] The publicity of course, must play up the social values contributing to social honor. The gangster has much publicity, but he is notorious, not honored.

society is highly diversified in this respect. It places great emphasis on work, income, and occupation. With gesselleschaft relations predominating in such a society, one would expect social honor to vary with type of work. Also one would expect those in similar occupations to regard one another as status equals.[1]

Which occupations are regarded as honorific depends, of course, on the value system of the society. The jobs which make possible the closest satisfaction of those values, are regarded as deserving greater recognition. Contemporary capitalism, for example, with its high valuation on monetary things tends to regard highly renumerative occupations with greater respect.[2] Also, those fields of endeavor which have less to do with manipulation of things (manual labor) are regarded as more honorific. Jobs requiring mental effort, paper work, directive or organizational capacity are associated with higher status than those calling for the exertion of physical force. On the whole, the former occupations also tend to be more remunerative.

Since all may not occupy the honored jobs, occupational structures or hierarchies tend to form.[3] The more complex the economic system, the greater the occupational diversity, and the greater the possible range

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[1] A person's job becomes a short-hand clue to his general status, for occupations may be distributed along a prestige-scale. See Smith and Hartman, op. cit.

[2] Exceptions to the general tendency are known, for some highpaying occupations are despised, as the professional gangster, the loan shark, and others.

[3] L. D. White observes that each occupation has a cluster of prestige determinents more or less specific to it; as association with well-known persons, security, capacity to exert power, connection to the state, and so forth. See Further Contributions to the Prestige Value of Public Employment (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932), p. 81

of status differences within the structure. Most structures exhibit tendencies to jell or become "hardened." This should be expected, for the occupants of the jobs which are more highly valued, desire to retain them and limit their numbers. For such reasons, occupational associations are formed with rules of admittance and rejection. Professional societies, trade associations, and trade unions are examples of these.[1] Sometimes these organizations tend to lose their job character and become almost exclusively "social;" that is, they become pure status groups.

This leads us to a relevant point, that the nature of the work may cause to arise specific patterns of behavior that contribute to the formation of a peculiar "style of living."[2] An actress may expect to be admired and feted, the insurance agent is expected to entertain, a scholar may abandon the "pointless chatter" of other men for the "joy" of isolated meditation, an engineer may have to study after working hours, the artist needs a studio, the school teacher has three-months vacation.

The habit-patterns associated with the work may become more important to the occupants and to prospective occupants than the job itself. That is, occupations may be attractive and honored because of the styles

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[1] In short, they form closures about the occupational axis. When this happens, Weber's assertion that occupations may form "societies," is true.

[2] See Davidson and D. Anderson, Ballots, op. cit.

of life they foster. Since different styles of life require varying economic resources for their continuation, it follows that there probably is a general correlation between the style of living, income level, and the occupation making that income level possible. Although this relation is not perfect, the general tendency toward it is evident, especially if a long term view is taken.

It is a moot question whether the occupation gives its members social honor or whether the occupation absorbs the prestige of its members. Speier maintains that the social origin and the social level of the members of an occupation determines the honor associated with that occupation. He believes that, as occupations recruit from "lower" sources, less honor is attached to them.[1] There is some evidence that this tends to be the case. In a static society or in a small community where the social characteristics of people in the honored jobs are known, recruitment of lower status personnel would ordinarily lower the prestige of these occupations. In large, dynamic, and impersonal social orders this is less likely to be true. Since the categoric nature of contacts makes it possible to hide social origin more effectively, occupations become the main indices to people's status.[2]

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[1] See H. Speier, "Salaried Employee in Modern Society," Social Research, 1:1, February 1934.

[2] Of course, if the people in honored occupations were few and the membership suddenly grew very large, these factors alone would tend to reduce the associated prestige.

Greenbelt's occupational range is smaller than that of the ordinary community. It will be interesting to test how conscious its residents are of small differences in the status of occupations. Occupational aspirations will also be noted as indices of status aspirations.

(d) Status and Power. We have yet to survey the relation of status and power. There can be little doubt that those who have honor may have their wishes obeyed within certain limitations, for power and influence may be one of the by-products of honor. Frequently, those that have honor may be unaware of their potential influence. This is rarely the case for those who occupy places of power as soldiers, executives, legislators, judges, and others.[1]

It is possible that some who are aware of their status, may not desire to exploit it to influence others or to achieve their ends. The situation is further complicated by the fact that the honored may influence others without intending it. Many of these qualifications do not hold for those who rule through naked power alone.

"Leaders," even in the "democratic" sense, are conscious of their honor and aware of their function to direct the activities of others.

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[1] These may be considered occupations of power with or without status.

However, insofar as they "lead" without force they are as much status groups as power groups.[1] This is the type of authority most evident in Greenbelt.

In this ideal situation then, status and power coincide; but the latter is latent and unused. If the amount of prestige is unlimited, as in the case of heroes and charismatic leaders, authoritative influence is likewise unlimited. The greater the prestige, the less need to rely on force for obedience, if obedience is desired; and vice versa.

Prestige and authority need not coincide, however. In fact some analysts believe that prestige cannot survive in situations governed solely by power, for uninhibited power disregards the "standards of honor."[2] It is becoming increasingly possible, however, for power groups to command and receive respect, as they increasingly monopolize the channels of communication.

It is possible to examine other relationships among the concepts

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[1] Many sociologists distinguish "leadership" from other forms of domination on the non-force principle. See for example, P. Pigors, Leadership or Domination (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935). With time, this type of leadership may make itself legally legitimate and obtain power based on force.

[2] See Speier, "Honor" op. cit. He believes that honor is incompatible with tyranny (total power), for tyranny has no order or limitation, whereas honor has standards of excellence and taboo that must not be violated. See also, H. Lasswell, "Psychology Looks at Morals and Politics" International Journal of Ethics, 51:325-336, for a discussion of the moral-political problems of democratizing power and respect in our society.

in which we are interested. For example, it would not be difficult to demonstrate that in modern America, power or influence is used to further special interest, and influence is constantly employed to increase one's class or economic position. It is this sort of thing that motivates much of the political activity in all levels of society. Power or influence for what, is the question that should always be raised. We must keep this question in mind in examining the economic and political activity in Greenbelt.

As people buy status, they may also buy power. Access to particular positions and occupations of influence and prestige often depends upon the ability to purchase special training. The law profession is a case in point here. To become a legislator, judge, dipomat, professional soldier, requires education which is available only to those who have the financial resources. We do not expect to observe such direct interrelations in the settlement we are studying, but we shall be aware of them.

Now let us analyze Greenbelt in terms of the concepts herein defined and related.

PART II

CLASS, STATUS, AND OCCUPATION

CHAPTER V

CLASS ANALYSIS OF GREENBELT

In this chapter we propose to focus on the class structure of Greenbelt. Before we examine the relationship of class to other factors, we must first analyze the economic data themselves. Important as economic data are, the social implications we may draw from such data are of equal interest. The position that a group occupies in an economic hierarchy may determine in part its attitudes toward other groups in the society. For example, high income groups may tend to regard themselves with smug satisfaction. They may conclude that their position is due to their superior attributes. In like manner, they may believe that "lower" groups lack their superior traits such as ambition, intelligence, breeding, and so forth. Before any such generalizations may be made of any given stratum, we must know its economic characteristics.

The economic experiences or the history of a group may help account for some of its attitudes, as optimism or pessimism toward the future. A stratum, having experienced general economic improvement *vis-a-vis* other pluralities, may tend to be more optimistic of the future than groups having opposite experiences.[1] Thus the economic experience of a class may help determine its political attitudes. Of

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[1] See Karl Mannheim, *Man and Society* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1940), especially pp. 244-249.

course, factors other than the economic enter into the formation of political ideologies, but it would be foolhardy to ignore the economic role.

Two basic economic factors might be analyzed in the case of our economic stratum: income and property. The latter factor may be disregarded, for only a half dozen Greenbelters own real property, such as homes and land. Their investment in industry is also picayune. The important factor to analyze is income, for salaries constitute their means of support. Table VI summarizes the income distribution of Greenbelt heads of families at four different intervals.[1]

1: Income at First Regular Occupation.

The exact income statistics of the first regular occupation are lacking. The data actually cover a number of years. By inference, we arrived at the conclusion that the majority of the group was employed regularly for the first time between 1925 and 1927, probably closer to the latter years. We compute this estimation in the following manner:

The average age of the group in 1942 was about 35 years. Its members had, on the average, completed slightly over twelve years of schooling. On the suppositions that their education was continuous and that their average age at the completion of education was around eighteen years, most of them probably began to seek employment around

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[1] These data were computed from schedules summarizing the materials in the Family Selection files at Federal Public Housing offices in Washington, D. C.

1925, on the completion of high school. Probably most of them did not become regularly employed until a year later, which means that the majority were probably regularly employed for the first time between 1926 and 1927. Thus, most of the group began to work during somewhat prosperous times, in the period of 1923 to 1929.[1] However, the data reflects both prosperity and depression salaries.

For a rather young group, a considerable range of income is indicated for the first regular occupation. Over six per cent received an annual income of under $600, while almost three per cent received over $3,000 per annum. As a matter of fact, despite this range almost two-thirds (62.9%) of the group received annual incomes between $800 and $1,800, the median income being $1,286. When we recall that almost one-half began as clerks, this average seems a little low for such workers at the time.[2] But when the factor of age is taken into consideration, the $500 deviation below the average salaries of clerks

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[1] About sixty per cent of Greenbelters were born in a span of seven years. If the year 1926 is chosen as the modal year of their first regular employment, then the majority became employed between 1923 and 1929. See Table XLVI for ages of members of different occupations.

[2] Cf. Paul Douglas, Real Wages in the United States (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930). He estimates that the average income of clerical workers in industry in 1924 was around $1,750; see pp. 362-364. Also, W. I. King, The National Income and Its Purchasing Power (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research Incorporated, 1930), p. 158. The estimation for average incomes of salaried employees in manufacturing for 1927 was $2,470. However, this includes managers and officials, who get higher salaries. Clerks in railroads for the same year averaged $1,882. See King, ibid., p. 93.

TABLE VI

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOMES OF HEADS OF FAMILIES OF GREENBELT, MARYLAND, AT FOUR SELECTED INTERVALS

Income Class	First Regular Occupation		Date of Entry		Feb. 4, 1942		May, 1943	
Under $600	6.3%		-		-		-	
$600-799	12.0		-		-		-	
800-999	13.0		0.9%		0.7%		2.9%[c]	
1000-1199	11.6		5.2		1.5		0.3	
1200-1399	16.4	47.0	19.0	88.8	4.4	59.8	0.9	13.0
1400-1599	13.1		35.9		12.1		0.7	
1600-1799	7.8		22.3		21.6		3.9	
1800-1999	9.7		11.6		21.7		7.5	
2000-2199	3.5		4.3		16.6		12.9	
2200-2399	1.6		0.3		6.6		7.8	
2400-2599	1.3		0.3		4.5		16.8	
2600-2799	0.5		0.4[b]		6.0		10.7	
2800-2999	0.5		-		0.6		4.1	
3000-3199	2.7[a]		-		0.5		11.2	
3200-3399	-		-		1.0		3.6	
3400-3599	-		-		0.5		2.7	
3600-3799	-		-		0.6		1.7	
3800-3999	-		-		-		6.8	
4000 & over	-		-		-		5.6	
Total	100.0		100.0		99.9		100.0	

[a] $3,000 and over
[b] $2,600 and over
[c] Under $1,000

at that time does not appear so startling.[1] Yet the median for the group was below that of the nation of $1,473 in 1926.[2] It is, of course, probable that the average income of the group decreased somewhat during the ensuing depression years. The youthfulness of the group probably meant that a larger proportion of its members were more unemployed than were older employees. As a matter of fact, a significant proportion of the group was unemployed after the first regular occupation.[3] Some of the older persons were forced to accept relief (W. P. A.), while a few of the younger people were given their first jobs by the National Youth Administration.[4]

2: Income, Time of Entry.

The next period when income data is available is at the time of entry into Greenbelt. Since all the families did not enter simultaneously, the data necessarily cover a period of a few years. However, most of the families in the group studied entered Greenbelt in 1938

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[1] It is probable that the majority entered the average or lower sections of clerical labor. For these, the average salary was estimated to be around $1,300 per annum in 1926. This was slightly below the figure $1,400 for manual workers in industry. See Clerical Salaries in the United States 1926 (New York: National Industrial Conference Board Inc., 1926), pp. 34, 35.

[2] See Douglas, op. cit., p. 392. This figure excludes farm labor. King's figure for 1927, op. cit., p. 146, is $1,205. This figure includes agricultural labor however.

[3] It is estimated that at least one-third of the group was unemployed for more than six months. An equal proportion experienced part-time and uneven employment.

[4] The actual percentage is not known. Such information was volunteered, and its reliability was not established.

or in 1939. It is quite probable that the people selected differed only a little from 1938 to 1940, since the same rules and selecting personnel were operating. The data for 1939 would therefore tend to be representative of 1938 and 1940. The most obvious fact discernable from Table VI is the diminished income range of the group since the first regular occupation.[1] Only a very small proportion earned under $1,000 or over $2,000. Between $1,200 and $2,000, a range of $800, almost ninety per cent of the cases were located. The mean and median incomes of the group were about the same, around $1,535, with a standard deviation of $240. Although this average did not quite equal that of the clerical workers in the federal service, which was $1,572 in December 31, 1938,[2] it did represent an average increase of about $250 over the previous period. The economic improvement of Greenbelters relative to the rest of the population was striking. The former's average greatly surpassed the national figure of 1939, which was around $978 per annum for male workers.[3] Greenbelters' position, when compared with the District of Columbia male workers, was also favorable. The median annual income for the latter was computed to be $1,225,[4] which of course

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[1] This picture is largely the result of the income policy enforced by the supervising federal agency. The average incomes of similar occupational groups elsewhere are probably not significantly different, however, although their ranges are no doubt larger.

[2] See M. L. Smith and K. R. Wright, "Occupations and Salaries in the Federal Service," Monthly Labor Review, January, 1941, Table 6. The median salary for all federal employees was $1,671. Clerical salaries in the federal service were lower than the average for all federal workers.

[3] See Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, vol. III, The Labor Force, Part I, Table 8, "Wages on Salaries Received in 1939 by Experienced Persons in the Labor Force 1940." This table is based on a five per cent sample of workers. Since only a very few of the gainfully employed in Greenbelt were women prior to the war, only incomes of the males are compared.

[4] Computed from Table 15, Ibid.

included the incomes of Negroes, which were and are notoriously low.

An occupational comparison would be fairer. For the District of Columbia, the median annual salaries for all male white-collar workers in 1939 was $1,462,[1] a figure slightly higher than that of the District male clerical workers, which was $1,444. Greenbelt's average of $1,535 per annum contrasted favorably with these white-collar groups. Comparing the Greenbelt median with that of male workers of other occupations in the District reveals that the former earned on the average higher incomes than unskilled, semi-skilled, and domestic employees. On the other hand, they received significantly lower s alaries than the skilled, semi-professional, and professional workers.[2] The main conclusion we may draw from these comparisons is that in no sense could Greenbelters have been regarded as a low-income group at time of entry. They have been and are definitely in the middle income class.

We have more complete economic information concerning the townspeople when they entered the "project." It is regrettable that such data were not kept current. Nevertheless, the information at our disposal partially deseribes other economic attributes of the stratum at that time. We shall examine this material in detail. During the discussion, the annual income of $1,535 must be borne in mind, as well as the approximate date for the data, which was 1939.[3]

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[1] Computed from Table 16, Sixteenth Census of the United States, op. cit.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] All the following information, unless otherwise indicated, was computed from schedules of the researcher which summarized data in the Family Selection files deposited in the regional office of the F. P. H. A.

3: Savings and Indebtedness.

Table VII summarizes most of the information available on savings and indebtedness. The range in monetary reserves for the families is large, extending from $0 - 8,600. Almost eight per cent of the families accumulated savings and investments amounting to over $500, exclusive of insurance. This was not typical of the group however. Actually, about one-half of the group (50.2%) had no savings whatsoever, exclusive of insurance. The median savings of the remaining half was approximately $93, a reserve capable of sustaining the family only about a month. Expressed another way, the money on hand of those who saved any money over a period of time, equaled 6.1% of the income earned in a year.[1]

A comparison of the social characteristics of the portion who did not save with those who did indicates that the former tended to be younger people who had larger families than the average.[2] An occupational selective also seems to have operated, for the lower manual workers had greater proportions among the non-savers. As might be expected, the professionals, earning higher salaries, were over-represented among the savers.

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[1] See E. E. Hoyt, Consumption in Our Society (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1938), p. 329. From a review of much budgetary data this author estimates that seven per cent of the income of a class earning $1,500 - 2,500 in 1937 went for savings. Recalling that one-half of Greenbelt families did not save, the 6.1% for one-half the group would be considerably smaller if spread to the entire group. However, the saving through insurance would increase the percentage slightly. Yet data for savings and insurance represent the result of several years of effort to save. Therefore, it is probable that the percentage of current income saved is lower than six per cent.

[2] The median income of non-savers was almost exactly the same as savers. The mean age of non-savers was 33.3 years, contrasted to 37 years for savers. The non-savers had significantly larger proportion of families having three or more members.

TABLE VII

DISTRIBUTION IN DOLLARS OF THE SAVINGS, INVESTMENTS,[a] AND DEBTS OF GREENBELT FAMILIES AS OF DATE OF ENTRY

	Savings & Investments		Debt	
Range in Dollars	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
None	378	50.2	227	29.2
$1-49	135	17.9	147	18.9
50-99	60	8.0	102	13.1
100-149	43	5.7	88	11.3
150-199	19	2.5	45	5.9
200-249	20	2.6	45	5.8
250-299	8	1.1	32	4.1
300-349	14	1.9	21	2.7
350-399	7	1.0	18	2.3
400-449	7	1.0	9	1.2
450-499	4	0.5	12	1.5
500 & over	58	7.7	30	3.8
Total	753	100.1	777	99.9
No information	48	-	-	-
Grand Total	801	-	-	-

[a] Exclusive of insurance.

4: Insurance.

The amount of the income saved should be slightly augmented. Insurance is usually considered as part of a family's liquid reserve. It was found that although one-half of the group did not save formally, only eleven per cent of the total had neither insurance nor savings. To summarize this point: 10.7% had no savings of any kind; 39.5% had saved only through insurance; and the remainder (approximately 50%) had saved, apart from insurance, on the average of a little over ninety dollars. Of course, the investment in insurance amplifies the average saved for the total group; but the exact extent of this increase is not known. The only figure available presents the total amount of life insurance that the families contracted to buy. This information is summarized in Table VIII by size of family.

Slightly less than one-fifth (17.4%) of the heads of families indicated that they had no life insurance whatsoever.[1] The remainder had insurance covering their families which amounted to $850 per capita. Including the uninsured, the per capita amount was reduced to $735. This was slightly below the national average of $843 in 1929.[2] Comparative data on the per capita insurance for different income groups in the nation were not available. Even if they were available, comparisons

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[1] This figure may be analyzed by size of family. Of the independent single persons, 46% owned no insurance; for two-member families, 18.3% had no insurance; 9.3% for three-member families; 11.3% for families with four or more members.

[2] See Association of Life Insurance Presidents, Proceedings, 1931, p. 92 ff. If data were adjusted for age, the Greenbelt and the national average would perhaps be closer.

TABLE VIII

FACE VALUE OF INSURANCE POLICIES OF GREENBELTERS BY SIZE OF FAMILY AS OF DATE OF ENTRY

Families		Total No. Individuals	Individuals Insured	Individuals Uninsured	No Information	Insurance per Family Unit	Per Capita Insurance of Insured	Per Capita Insurance[a]
100	Single-Member	100	45	46	9	$679	$1,373	$679
224	Two-Member	448	346	82	20	2,006	1,241	1,004
215	Three-Member	645	573	60	12	2,207	850	769
162	Four-Member	648	564	72	12	2,452	692	613
74	Five-Member	370	340	30	-	3,215	700	643
20	Six-Member	120	102	18	-	3,432	673	572
	Total[c]	2,331[b]	1,970	308	53	2,101	850	735

[a] Excludes those in "no information."

[b] Excludes information on in-laws.

[c] The average insurance of insured two-member families is $2,482; for three-member families, $2,548; for four-members, $2,767; for five-members, $3,501; for six-members, $4,038.

Note: Total insurance for Greenbelt amounted to $1,678,066. The per capita insurance for Greenbelt was $735.32. The per capita insurance of those insured was $850.29.

would not be fair, for Greenbelt heads of families are younger than heads of families in general.

Of course, the amount of insurance also varied with size of family. With the increase in size, the total amount of insurance carried steadily increased. Single-member families averaged $679 worth of insurance, while families with five or more members carried over $3,000 worth. Translating these figures on a per capita basis reduces the seemingly wide range. Couples without children had the highest per capita insurance, $1,004. With increase in family size, the per capita insurance fell generally to only $572 per capita for six-member families. The reason for the decrease is obvious when we recall the high concentration of salaries about the median. Since income does not grow directly with size of family, it is difficult to see how larger families could increase their outlays for insurance.

Insurance is an economic resource subsumable under savings. In an emergency one may borrow against the policy or actually sell it back to the company. There is no way of knowing exactly how much in actual dollars Greenbelters could recover from their policies; however, a crude guess may be made of the approximate minimum amount. We know that the mean face value of the insurance per family unit is slightly over $2,000. If we assume that most of the policies were of the "twenty-payment life" variety, and that they were seven years old,[1] their probable

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[1] The assumption is reached in this roundabout fashion. The mean age of heads of families is about thirty-five years. The probability is high that they purchased the bulk of insurance near time of marriage. At that time, the majority were around twenty-eight years old. This would mean that the policies were seven years old on the average in 1942.

cash surrender or loan value would have been about $300 in 1942.[1] Since this figure is considerably higher than the amount "formally" saved, it is reasonable to assume that most Greenbelters, prior to moving to the town, did most of their savings through insurance.[2] Added to formal savings, the total average assets of the group, aside from personal property, was about $350 with a standard deviation of about $100.

The debt structure of the town is pictured in Table VII. Over seventy per cent of the families indicated that they had some outstanding debt. Almost four per cent had debts amounting to over $500, but the median debt of the entire group was slightly over $50. If we excluded those who had no debts (29.2% of the total), the median indebtedness of the remainder would rise to $115, or 7.5% of the average annual income. This figure is slightly higher than the group's median savings ($93), exclusive of insurance.

It is obvious that the majority of the families had both debts and savings. If necessary, they would have been able to liquidate their debts by digging into their reserves. However, this would have left them a margin only wide enough to meet a small emergency, or to

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[1] For "whole-life" policies, the cash surrender or loan value would be around $166. The corresponding figure for a "twenty-year endowment" policy would be $438. According to the local agent, the "twenty-payment life" is the modal type for Greenbelters and similar low-salaried groups. Loan-cash data were obtained from the Metropolitan Life Insurance Rate Book, 1942.

[2] Insurance men claim that for such low-income groups, insurance is a form of compulsory saving which is self-imposed. It is not surprising that so little formal saving is done by this stratum, for the average annual payments for a twenty-payment life policy averages about seventy dollars, almost five per cent of the income of Greenbelt heads of families in 1942. This estimate, of course, contains a considerable margin of error.

carry them over a short period of insecurity. This fact may have accounted for the popularity of the Credit Union and for the need of Greenbelters for liberal credit facilities.[1] It may also help explain feelings of inadequacy and insecurity.

We explored the possible differences in some of the social attributes of those who had debts and those who did not have them. An examination of their occupational distributions showed that professionals and skilled workers were over-represented among those having no debts. This is understandable in view of their higher incomes.[2] On the other hand, managers, officials, and entrepreneurs tended to be over-represented in the debt column. Though their incomes were average, their increased indebtedness may have reflected a desire to live up to the socio-economic level expected of people in those occupations.[3] The annual median income of the debt-free was only thirty dollars below the indebted, but the group had significantly larger proportions of their numbers among those who were single or without children.

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[1] The Credit Union has met a large demand for medium size loans for (a) payment of medical and other bills attendant to the birth of children, (b) consolidating debts, (c) purchase of automobiles, and (d) furniture, in that order. Almost one-third of the families were members of the Credit Union in 1942, while about three-quarters of those who resided in Greenbelt for two years were members. The younger family heads borrowed for medical expenses, while no age difference was noted for those who borrowed to buy automobiles. Source of information: officials of Greenbelt Credit Union.

[2] See Table XLIV in the Appendix for the rank order of occupations by income and Table XLIII for indebtedness by occupations; also Table for occupational distribution of savers, non-savers, indebted, and debt-free heads of families.

[3] The average indebtedness of white-collar and manual workers did not differ greatly. However, while the amount that the former owed tended to be concentrated at the lower end of the scale, the manual workers' debts seemed to cover a wider range. See Table in Appendix.

Briefly summarizing the above data: At the time of entry into Greenbelt, the group represented economically the lower middle income class. Its greatest asset was the possession of jobs that were as permanent as one could expect under the then prevailing conditions. The majority lived "close to the margin," not being able to save much after outlay of "necessary" expenditures. The fact that insurance was probably considered a necessary outlay is indicated by indebtedness of three-quarters of the families. It is true that the debt was not large and over-burdening, as it was for many wage workers at the time. It could have been liquidated by tapping the resources of savings and insurance, but the latter were not large enough to meet modest-sized emergencies. Neither were they sufficiently large to enable the group to make major expenditures.[1] Greenbelters had to be content to "make ends meet." Any luxury, let alone an increase in family size, would have to be made at the expense of the plane of living.[2]

Relative to the population of the United States as a whole, these conditions were not unfavorable; but compared to other white-collar, semi-professional, and other groups just above them in the occupational hierarchy, there was something to be demanded. This something was probably a craving for a slight but visible rise in standard of living. To accomplish this, sacrifices had to be made. Some evidence indicates

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[1] Many families indicated it was fortunate that they could buy the sturdy, functional furniture sold by Farm Security Agency. The furniture was purchased by paying as little as fifty cents extra on the rent each month.

[2] From the analysis of the characteristics of the indebted and the non-savers, it is legitimate to deduce that an increase in family size could only be had at the expense of the plane of living, or by going into debt, or both.

that a rise in plane of living became possible after entry into Greenbelt. In fact, one of the main reasons for moving into Greenbelt was to reduce rent payments. Besides the superior dwellings, Greenbelt made available some services and facilities that only higher income groups could afford. The savings in rent could and did go toward coveted purchases, toward starting or increasing the family size, toward the purchase of automobiles, and so forth.

5: Income, 1942 and 1943.

Data on debts, savings, and expenditures are unavailable for later periods; but luckily, records of incomes for certain periods were made available by the Federal Public Housing Authority.[1] The next period for which we have income data is February, 1942.

We observe from Table VI that the range of the incomes did not increase much from 1939 to 1942, but the internal concentration within the range moved toward the higher end of the scale. Whereas on the date of entry about ninety per cent of the incomes fell in the range of $1,200 to $2,000, in 1942 under sixty per cent were located in this range. Meanwhile, the median income of the group increased over $300, from $1,535 to $1,844 per annum. The advance of Greenbelters up the income ladder for the three-year period was quite rapid. Although accurate comparable statistics for the general population for this period are not available,

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[1] These data were first collected to sieve out those families over the income limit who were subject to eviction, and later to determine the amount of rent to be paid. Later rents were gauged to incomes rather than size of families. The original income schedules from which the following data are drawn, are deposited in the F. P. H. A.'s office in Greenbelt, Maryland.

the evidence below indicates that the stratum increased its advantage over the general population. The signs also point to the fact that Greenbelters improved their economic position within the federal bureaucracy. Their median of $1,844 per annum exceeded that of all federal employees, which was $1,734 in October 1942.[1] Greenbelters earned about $262 a year more, on the average, than the average clerical workers in the federal government and $200 more than the average earned by all federal workers in the District of Columbia.[2] Since the federal workers earned proportionately more than the general population, it is clear that Greenbelters easily surpassed the middle income range in the country.

Under the stimulus of wartime labor demands, the salaries of Greenbelters increased even faster. By May, 1943, the median salary rose $722 to $2,566. How much of this increment represented a rise in real earnings is not exactly known. It is quite reasonable to infer, however, that the increase was not due solely to over-time compensation. If we allowed an added twenty-five per cent of the basic 1942 salary for over-time, this would account for about four-sevenths of the rise.[3] Notice in Table VI that the high concentration of salaries around the average so marked in

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[1] Income distributions of federal workers for this period are presented in the Monthly Labor Review, September, 1943, pp. 566-579. See Tables 2 and 4 particularly.

[2] The medians we computed for all federal clerical workers was $1,622 and for all district federal workers, $1,685. Clerical workers fall in the civil service classification of clerical, administrative, and fiscal workers: CAF.

[3] Actually the amount for over-time given to federal workers was slightly less than twenty-three per cent of their basic salaries.

the three previous intervals, tended to disappear in 1943. The slightly larger proportion at the lower end of the scale reflected the low incomes of men drafted into the armed service. Although they tended to lower the average somewhat, we cannot escape the conclusion that the larger source of income increment is traceable to an increase in basic salary. Accompanying this increase was a probable rise in occupation status. With the expansion of war agencies and with the influx of larger numbers of untrained office workers in the federal bureaucracy, many of the older clerks assumed supervisory, semi-technical, and semi-professional duties.[1]

Table IX summarizes income changes for heads of families and for entire families from the time of their first regular occupation.

TABLE IX

MEDIAN INCOMES OF HEADS OF FAMILIES AND OF FAMILIES OF GREENBELT, MARYLAND AT FOUR SELECTED INTERVALS

	Heads of Families	Families
First regular occupation	$1,286	-----
On entry (1939-40)	1,535	$1,545
February 4, 1942	1,844	2,000
May, 1943	2,566	2,823

A number of obvious conclusions may be drawn. First, the ideal of the husband as sole wage earner has been dominant. Other members of the family contributed only a small share of the family income. Insofar as our data are complete and reliable, other members contributed less than

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[1] See analysis of the occupational changes in the group in Chapter VI.

one-tenth of the total earnings at any time.[1] The wives, working part or full time, earned most of the added income. The sharp increase in family income resulted almost entirely from salary increments of the heads of families. The second fact is that the income of family heads had almost exactly doubled during the period under observation. About seventy per cent of this increase occurred since entry into Greenbelt, during an average period of five years. There can be little doubt that this represents, in part at least, a rise in real income that has made possible more savings or a higher plane of living. The magnitude of this rise is difficult to establish, but its reality cannot be denied.[2]

6: Occupations and Income Changes.

Of course, the incomes of some occupations rose faster than for others. Table X ranks occupations according to salaries received for the four indicated intervals. Although much fluctuation was indicated, some general trends may be noted, particularly since the date of entry.[3] The position of the professionals, dependent and independent, remained steady, near the top of the income range, with the exception of the teachers whose position generally deteriorated. The most rapid rise was noted for the

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[1] Data on earnings of wives are less reliable than data on heads of families. The latter were verified in whole or in part (sample) by federal officials by communication with employers for the middle two intervals. It is of interest to note that when wives worked, they invariably did white-collar tasks, selling, and office work.

[2] The determination of the real increase in salaries hinges on the corresponding fluctuations in the cost of living. The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated a rise of twenty-three per cent in the period of January, 1941, to March, 1944. Labor officials insist that about forty-three per cent is a more realistic figure. If either figure is accepted, the average increment of salaries in Greenbelt covers the rise in cost of living.

[3] We are not concerned immediately with the problem of which occupation leads to the largest income rise, but merely the relative rank of the occupations in reference to associated incomes at specific intervals.

TABLE X

RANK ORDER OF OCCUPATIONS ACCORDING TO ANNUAL MEDIAN INCOME RECEIVED AT FOUR SELECTED INTERVALS[a]

Occupations	First Regular Occupation	On Entry	March, 1942	May, 1943
Employers and Self-Employed	2	8	6	11
Independent Professionals	1	1	2	3
Managers & Officials	3	5	3	1
Dependent Professionals and Semi-professionals	5	2	1	2
Teachers	7	9	11	12
Technicians, Lab. assistants	9	4	7	4
Sales Clerks	10	10	8	7
Office Clerks	6	7	9	6
Skilled & Foremen	4	3	4	5
Semi-skilled & Apprentices	8	6	5	10
Laborers--unskilled	11	11	10	9
Service Workers	12	12	12	8

[a] Low number = higher salaries

managers and officials who rose to the top rank in 1943 from fifth rank on the date of entry. The office clerks exhibited a meager rise, but remained near the center of the scale. Surprisingly, the position for the skilled worker fell slightly, although it remained consistently just above the clerks. The ranks of the entrepreneurs and semi-skilled laborers fell precipitously to the lowest spots. The placement of unskilled labor and service worker remained rather low, showing only a slight tendency to rise, while technicians showed no change whatsoever.

In terms of the occupations on date of entry that offered the greatest chances for monetary increases irrespective of future occupational shifts, a different trend becomes evident. (in Table XA.) Taking the date of entry as the base, the professions offered the best prospects for largest monetary increases. Next, the higher grades of white collar workers as accountants, technical clerks, and such led to high salaries. Semi-skilled, unskilled, and lower clerical workers followed in that order. These, no doubt, experienced some upward occupational mobility. The income rises of skilled workers, curiously enough, rose rather slowly, relative to other occupations. The remaining occupations, managers, entrepreneurs, and so forth, had too few members to make possible depiction of trends without too many reservations. However, on the basis of their scanty evidence, the prospects of high incomes for these seemed smaller than for other occupations.[1]

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[1] This type of analysis is more minutely developed in Chapter VI, "Occupational History of Greenbelters."

TABLE XA

MEDIAN INCOMES OF 1943 OF THOSE BEGINNING AT SPECIFIED OCCUPATIONS AS OF DATE OF ENTRY

	Date of Entry	May 1943	Difference
Employers & Self-employed	$1373	$2400	$1027
Managers & Officials	1590	2750	1160
Independent Professionals	2155	2500	445
Dependent Professionals and Semi-professionals	1754	3300	1546
Teachers	1363	2700	1331
Technicians	1610	2466	856
Office Clerks	1449	2546	1097
Sales Clerks	1363	2500	1137
Skilled Workers	1650	2600	945
Semi-skilled Workers	1529	2704	1185
Unskilled Workers	1289	2500	1211
Service Workers	1265	2133	868
Total	1535	2566	1031

The salary increases of Greenbelters have probably been proportionate to those of other major groups in the country, and have in some instances surpassed them. Comparisons to prove this must necessarily be crude because of the dearth of comparably detailed occupational and income statistics. For the period of 1939-43, increases in wages of industrial workers have been reputedly large. On the whole, the salaries of white-collar groups have not been augmented proportionately. However, our evidence indicates that the average Greenbelter's salary rose at least as fast as the average wage in industry.[1] Other facts show that Greenbelters have, since the war, earned higher salaries than other white-collar workers outside and inside of the Government.[2] There can be little doubt that the residents experienced an occupational as well as an income ascent since 1927 that was faster than that of other major occupational groups. Although the trend quickened during the last few years, it probably will not continue to rise as rapidly in the future. The net effect of recent changes on the group will probably leave a greater proportion of semi-professional, semi-technical, and sub-managerial workers than previously. Their salaries will naturally tend to stabilize around the average in those occupations, but this subject is further discussed in another place.

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[1] Working with data of the Bureau of Labor Statistics published in various issues of the Monthly Labor Review, we found that workers in manufacturing obtained a sixty-four per cent increase in gross annual income from 1939-43. The corresponding percentage for Greenbelt is over sixty-seven. The Monthly Labor Review for September, 1943, Table 6, provides average weekly earnings by industries for May, 1943. The average annual earnings of all engaged in manufacturing was computed as $2,236. For those in durable goods industries, the average rose to $2,570, the same figure for Greenbelters. In non-durable industries, the average was only $1,768.

[2] The average annual income of those engaged in wholesale trade in May, 1943, was $2,028; for retail trade, $1,768. From 1939-42, federal government workers' salaries increased on the average 8.1 per cent; for Greenbelters, twenty per cent. This data was compiled and computed from the Monthly Labor Review, July, 1941; September, 1943.

7: Summary.

An inspection of the income history of Greenbelt heads of families reveals the following: Over approximately the dozen years that most of them have been employed, their average income has risen from below to above the average of clerical workers in the United States. This, of course, is partially due to mobility into higher white-collar occupations, and to accumulated experience.

The most important economic feature of the group, as a group, is its homogeneity of income, that is, the small income range and the high concentration around the average. Of course, the narrowness of the range of incomes on entry into Greenbelt was due to the tenant selection policy of the Government. Before that time their income showed more variation, and at periods after entry, the incomes seemed again to show evidences of spread. However, if compared with communities as large as Greenbelt, one might expect greater economic differentiation.

The homogeneity of the group is further demonstrated by the fact that only a very few own real property or businesses. Almost all residents are salaried employees or wage earners, who have had similar economic histories. In terms of the debts and savings of the group, small variation was noted. Seventy per cent of the group was indebted slightly, and fifty per cent had some savings, apart from insurance. In neither case were the savings or the indebtedness very large in proportion to the salaries received. When the group entered Greenbelt, its economic position was such that an increase in family size or sizable purchases could only be accomplished by going into debt or by lowering the plane of living.

With the coming of the war, the average income of the group as a whole tended to increase. There is evidence to show that this increase was faster for Greenbelters than for comparable groups in Washington and in the nation. Evidence indicates that the rise in incomes of Greenbelters was faster than the general rise in the cost of living; that is, the income increments were on the whole real, and reflected possibly in a rise of the plane of living. Some occupations provided greater chances of income rise than others. Those in the higher clerical jobs, such as accountants, auditors, statisticians, and semi-technical workers, moved into technical, sub-professional, and sub-administrative positions. The expanding needs of the federal bureaucracy was in part responsible for this. But it is probable that some of the advances made by Greenbelters will be retained rather permanently, if the government remains near its present size.

CHAPTER VI

OCCUPATIONAL ANALYSIS OF GREENBELT, MARYLAND

1: Introduction

Weber has defined occupation as a "mode of specialization, specification, and combination of functions of an individual so far as it constitutes for him the basis of a continual opportunity for income or for profit."[1] Although this is strictly an economic definition, occupations have other than economic "implications." Besides providing a means of livelihood, occupations help to designate social status. This is especially true in modern western society where occupations seem to arrange themselves according to hierarchical principles of status and income.[2] As the older designation, "calling", implies, what a man does, deeply influences his "inner being." Since he spends a great portion of his waking hours working, it is reasonable to assume that his work-routines will affect his general "outlook" and personality. Perhaps no other social role both labels and influences a person to as great an extent as his occupation. The latter is probably the most accurate single index to his and his family's general socio-economic status in the community.

In studying a human settlement, therefore, one may not profitably ignore the occupations of its residents. A town composed of miners

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[1] Wirtshaft und Gesellschaft, op. cit., Chapter 2, section 24.

[2] See A. Salz, op. cit., D. Anderson and P.E. Davidson, Ballots and the Democratic Class Struggle (California: Stanford University Press, 1939), Chapter 2.

functions altogether differently than a town of farmers, than a residential suburb of office workers, etc. The type of industry may dominate the ecological pattern, but the nature of the occupations is psychologically more important. This is so because work instills into man certain routines and mental habits that may affect social and even political activity.

We cannot realistically isolate the discussion of occupation from other correlates with which it is usually associated. A primary relationship exists between occupation andnclass. Changes in jobs are usually accompanied by changes in amount or type of income. Moreover, job mobility often implies changes in habits of consumption and styles of living. Therefore, in analyzing occupation, one studies simultaneously, indirectly at least, the accompanying problems of class and status. These subjects have been treated in previous sections. They must be kept in mind during the following occupational analysis.

Another factor associated with occupations is education. It is obvious that many types of employment require specific amounts and types of education. Some jobs demand more "formal" training than others; some need more specialized technical or vocational training. Education may be used as a rough index of the number and types of jobs that are theoretically open to an individual. Even though education may not be of direct use in many occupations, it is increasingly becoming a formal pre-requisite for some types of work. What is more important, training, though often unrelated to the individual's capacity to perform "higher" tasks, may be mandatory for upward mobility within an occupational hierarchy.

This tends to be especially true for white-collar workers in large bureaucracies. Further, the amount and type of education had and pursued may be used as a clue to job aspirations.

Perhaps no other single index provides as accurate a description of the early social milieu of a person as the occupation of his father. Admittedly, this is not an infallible criterion, but it is the best shorthand clue to the socio-economic environment.

2: Selecting an Occupational Classification

Let us examine the gross occupational composition of our population. In classifying occupations, the ubiquitous problem arose of the type of classification to be used. The problem was to choose between a more functional breakdown of jobs, and the depictive scheme used by the census. The former is more realistic sociologically, but most of the readily available data has been classified in the census breakdown. The occupational classification finally adopted was one taken from Woytinsky's work.[1]

The advantage of Woytinsky's classification over that of Alba Edwards' is that the former contains items that tend to approximate more accurately the socio-economic groups.[2] For one thing, it makes

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[1] See Labor in the United States, (Washington: Social Science Research Council, 1938), Note 3, pp 240-245.

[2] Socio-economic status is a concept which combines the economic, status, and even possibly the power positions of individuals and/or groups. Occupations may be ranked to correspond roughly to socio-economic groupings. See Alba Edwards, "A Social-Economic Grouping of Gainful Workers in the United States", Journal of the American Statistical Association, 28: 377-387, 1933.

possible the separation of proprietory, salaried, and wage groups. It also segregates occupations more functionally. Fortunately, Woytinsky outlines the procedure for transforming his classification into that of Edwards, if need be.

We modified Woytinsky's categories in three important ways: (1) A distinction was made between independent and salaried professionals, (2) Technicians were separated from clerks and kindred workers, (3) and clerks were segregated into as many separate occupations as feasible. This last was done because we knew beforehand that our population was heavily weighted with office clerks. We naturally wanted to study the internal composition of this stratum.

The only occupational data available for Greenbelt heads of families were those provided by the applicant when he applied for entry into Greenbelt. On the whole, the names and descriptions of their jobs were precise enough for classification. Their latest occupation and income were checked by the supervising agency, thus establishing their reliability. The only inconsistency appeared in the fact that some gave their occupations as "clerk," whereas others specified the nature of their "clerical" duties as "typist," "stenographer," "file clerk," and so forth. Whether the internal distribution of "clerks" is similar to that of the "specified clerks" is unsettled. There are indications that one might expect similar distributions.

3: The Occupational Composition of Greenbelt Earners

Table XI presents the occupational distribution of Greenbelters at the time they entered the "project." From it we note that over

three-quarters of all earners are government employees. The great preponderance of workers (94%) are males.[1]

Entrepreneurs and employers are conspicuously underrepresented for they comprise less than two percent of all gainfully employed. This means that almost all (98%) workers are in "dependent" occupations. That is, Greenbelters are either salaried employees or wage workers. The former constitute nearly three-quarters of the total and the latter slightly less than one-quarter.

Fifty-seven percent of all Greenbelt earners are engaged in some type of clerical work. The manual workers, which compose twenty-three percent of the total, are predominately skilled and semi-skilled. Only 5.4 percent of the total are in the unskilled and service categories. Those falling in the dependent professional and semi-professional categories make up about twelve percent, or one-eighth of all employees.[2]

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1 The reason for the disproportionate sex ratio resulted from the operation of income ceilings for families residing in Greenbelt. If wives worked, the family income would rise above the ceiling, forcing them to leave the project. Because of the "war emergency," this restriction was temporarily discontinued.

2 The dependent professional and semi-professional category is most loosely defined. It includes engineers, chemists, photographers, draftsmen, osteologists, economic analysts, and other occupations sometimes referred to as "technical."

TABLE XI

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF GREENBELT EARNERS AS OF ENTRY
BY SEX AND BY GOVERNMENT AND NON-GOVERNMENT JOBS

	U. S. Government						Non-Government							
	Total Government		Male		Female		Total Non-Government		Male		Female		Grand Total	
Occupations	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Employer and self-employed	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	3.5	7	4.0	-	-	7	0.9
Professionals-indep.	2	0.3	2	0.3	-	-	13	6.5	13	7.5	-	-	15	1.9
Salaried employees	450	79.3	457	78.6	23	95.8	93	56.3	95	54.6	-	72.0	594	73.9
Manager & officials	6	1.0	6	1.0	-	-	27	13.6	27	15.5	-	-	33	4.1
Engineers, chemists	28	4.6	28	4.8	0	.0	5	2.5	5	2.9	-	-	33	4.1
Teachers	1	.1	1	.2	-	-	16	8.0	11	6.3	5	20.0	17	2.1
Technical sides	29	4.8	29	5.0	-	-	4	2.0	4	2.3	-	-	33	4.1
Sales persons	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	10.6	18	10.3	3	12.0	21	2.6
Clerk-not specified	207	34.2	205	35.3	2	8.3	11	5.5	8	4.6	3	12.0	218	27.1
Office personnel	209	34.6	188	32.3	21	87.5	29	14.1	22	12.6	7	28.0	239	29.7
Messengers etc.	36	6.0	36	6.2	-	-	2	1.0	2	1.1	-	-	38	4.7
Shipping clerks	9	1.5	9	1.6	-	-	3	1.5	3	1.7	-	-	12	1.5
File clerk	16	2.6	16	2.8	-	-	1	.5	1	.6	-	-	17	2.1
Typist	24	4.0	20	3.4	4	16.7	-	-	1	.6	-	-	26	3.2
Machine operators	28	4.6	23	4.0	5	20.8	6	3.0	4	2.3	2	8.0	34	4.2
Secretaries	3	.5	2	.3	1	4.1	4	2.0	1	.6	3	12.0	7	.9
Bookkeepers	11	1.8	8	1.4	3	12.5	2	1.0	2	1.2	-	-	13	1.6
Stenographers	23	3.8	16	2.8	7	29.2	3	1.5	1	.6	2	8.0	26	3.2
Accountants, Auditors, etc.	16	2.6	16	2.7	-	-	2	1.0	2	1.2	-	-	18	2.2
Fingerprint classifers	21	3.5	21	3.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	2.6
Technical clerk	22	3.6	21	3.6	1	4.2	5	2.5	5	2.9	-	-	27	3.4
Skilled workers	54	8.9	54	8.9	-	-	36	18.1	32	18.4	4	16.0	90	11.2
Foremen	3	.5	3	.5	-	-	0	-	-	.0	-	-	3	.4
Other skilled	51	8.4	51	8.8	-	-	36	18.1	32	18.4	4	16.0	87	10.8
Semi-skilled	34	5.6	33	5.7	1	4.2	20	10.0	19	10.9	1	4.0	54	6.7
A Apprentices	9	1.6	9	1.5	-	-	8	4.0	8	4.6	-	-	17	2.1
Other semi-skilled	25	4.1	24	4.1	1	4.1	12	6.0	11	6.3	1	4.0	37	4.6
Unskilled	9	1.5	9	1.6	-	-	4	2.0	4	2.3	-	-	13	1.6
Service workers	26	4.3	26	4.5	-	-	5	2.5	4	2.3	1	4.0	31	3.9
Totals	605	100.0	581	100.0	24	100.0	199	100.0	174	100.0	25	100.0	804	100.0

Although the occupational range is considerable, it is noteworthy that its "extremes", that is, the independent entrepreneurs as well as unskilled and service workers are almost entirely absent. This enforces the general conclusion that Greenbelt workers are mainly office clerks, with small and rather equal proportions of professional and semi-professionals, as well as skilled laborers. Although the occupational range in large enough for status distinctions to appear, the economic differences as measured by income tend to be considerably smaller.[1]

A basic division in our population is that of government and non-governmental employees.[2] Do these groups differ in their occupational distributions? A glance at the table assures us that they do, the grossest of these appearing in the respective proportions of salaried employees. About four-fifths (seventy-nine percent) of government employees fall in this category, in contrast to about fifty-six percent for non-government. The location of this disparity is in the different proportions of office clerks. Whereas the latter form over two-thirds of government workers, they make up only one-fifth of non-government workers. On the other hand, non-government workers constitute larger proportions of their total in the following occupations: For all professionals including teachers, fourteen percent more; managers and officials, twelve percent; skilled workers, ten

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[1] See Chapter V, "Class Analysis of Greenbelt, Maryland."

[2] "Government" here refers only to the United States Government.

percent; semi-skilled, five percent; and proprietors or employers, four percent more.

To summarize the distribution for the non-government workers: one-third are manual workers or craftsmen, operatives, unskilled, and service workers. Slightly less than one-third are clerks, salespersons, and technicians, while slightly more than one-third are proprietors, officials, and professionals. Using the same broad groups for the government employees, slightly over one-fifth are in "manual" jobs, seven-tenths in clerical and kindred work, and about 6 percent in the professional ranks.

Table XII combines the sex distributions of government and non-government employees of Table XI. As expected the women constitute a greater proportion of office clerks and saleswomen. Surprisingly, the proportion of women professionals, ten percent, slightly exceeds the corresponding male figure. This reflects the larger proportion of female school teachers residing in town. Male professionals are either independent professionals, or "dependent" engineers, draftsmen, chemists, and others.

The proportion of males in "technical" and "manual" jobs exceeds, as one would expect, the percentages of women in these jobs.

From Table XI one may ascertain that the basic sex differences in occupations persist when the governmental employees are analyzed. The only significant difference is that the proportion of women clerks is still larger. Also, the proportions of women in the professional and "manual" occupations are smaller. This peculiar distribution for

TABLE XII

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF GREENBELT EARNERS
BY SEX IN NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES
OF ENTRY

	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	
	Numbers	Percent	Numbers	Per cent	Numbers	Per cent
Employers and self-employed	7	.9			7	.87
Independent Professionals	15	2.0			15	1.9
Salaried Employees:	552	73.1	42	85.7	594	73.9
Managers and officials	33	4.4			33	4.1
Engineers, chemists, draftsmen, etc.	33	4.4			33	4.1
Teachers	12	1.6	5	10.2	17	2.1
Technical and Laboratory sides	33	4.4			33	4.1
Sales persons	18	2.4	3	6.1	21	2.6
Clerks - not specified	213	28.2	5	10.2	218	27.1
Clerks - Specified	210	27.8	29	59.2	239	29.7
Messengers, etc.	38	5.0			38	4.7
Stock, shipping, receiv ing clerks	12	1.6			12	1.5
File clerks	17	2.3			17	2.1
Typists	21	2.8	5	10.2	26	3.2
Machine operators	27	3.6	7	14.3	34	4.2
Secretaries	3	.4	4	8.2	7	.9
Bookkeepers	10	1.3	3	6.1	13	1.6
Stenographers	17	2.3	9	18.4	26	3.2
Accountants, auditors, etc.	12	1.6			12	1.5
Finger-print classifiers	21	2.8			21	2.6
Technical clerks	26	3.4	1	2.0	27	3.4
Skilled Workers (sub totals)	86	11.4	4	8.1	90	11.1
Foremen	3	.4			3	.4
Other skilled workers	83	11.0	4	8.2	87	10.8
Semi-skilled (sub-totals)	52	6.9	2	4.1	54	6.7
Apprentices to skilled	17	2.3			17	2.1
Other semi skilled	35	4.6	2	4.1	37	4.6
Unskilled workers	13	1.7			13	1.6

continued TABLE XII

Service Workers	30	4.0	1	2.0	31	3.9
Totals	755	100.0	49	100.0	804	99.9
Unknown						
Grand Total	755	100.0	49	100.0	804	99.9

the women workers derives from the fact that, in contrast to other places, a smaller ratio of women work in Greenbelt.[1] The explanation of this lies in the wage rules operating in Greenbelt. No doubt, the actual number of working wives is higher than the table denotes. But since, perhaps, some women work surreptitiously, records were unavailable.

4: Social and Occupational Mobility of Greenbelters

No description of a settlement is complete without reference to its main characteristics of stratification. The most generally used index to stratification in western society is commonly referred to as "socio-economic status." The main criteria that contribute to a scheme of socio-economic classification are the four variables we discussed in Chapter IV: class, status, occupation, and influence or power. A fifth variable which is readily objectifiable and rather commonly used is education, which is, of course, typically linked to occupation. Studies in social mobility and social stratification have found these indices to be rather sensitive.[2]

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1 The Census for 1930 reported twenty-two percent of all women over ten years old were gainfully employed.

2 A few basic writings on this subject include P. Sorokin, Social Mobility (New York: Harper Bros., 1927); F.W. Taussig and C. S. Joslyn, American Business Leaders (New York: MacMillan, 1932); P.E. Davidson and D. Anderson, Occupational Mobility in an American Community (California: Stanford University Press, 1937).

It is difficult to combine these several indices into a "single-dimensional" scale. It is convenient to use occupation as a "basic" variable and attempt to rank occupation in such a way as to get the occupational scale correlated with the other variables. Occupations have been ranked in many ways;[1] Edwards suggests that they may be ranked to denote socio-economic groupings.[2] That is, occupational levels and changes in occupations may be taken as rough indicators of socio-economic status and social mobility in general.

In this section, we shall analyze the occupational mobility of Greenbelt as indicative of its social mobility history. Let us inspect Edwards' scale of socio-economic groupings by occupations, and suggest some alterations we desire for our purposes. Edwards' scale is reproduced below:

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1 See D. Fryer, "Occupational Intelligence Standards," School and Society, 16: 1922; F. E. Barr, "A Scale in Measuring Mental Ability in Vocations and Some of its Implications," reprinted in L. M. Terman, Genetic Studies in Genius, I, p. 66; Mapheus Smith, "An Empirical Scale of Prestige Status of Occupations," op. cit. Anderson and Davidson, Ballots.... op. cit. pp., 99, 100.

2 Edwards, op. cit., "Socio-Economic Groupings..."

I. Edwards' classification:

1. Professional persons
2. Proprietors, managers and officials
   - 2a. Farmers (owners & tenants)
   - 2b. Wholesale and retail dealers
   - 2c. Other proprietors, managers and officials
3. Clerks and kindred workers
4. Skilled workers and foremen
5. Semi-skilled workers
   - 5a. Semi-skilled in manufacturing
   - 5b. Other semi-skilled
6. Unskilled workers
   - 6a. Farm laborers
   - 6b. Construction builders
   - 6c. Other laborers
   - 6d. Servant classes

II. Adapted from Woytinsky:

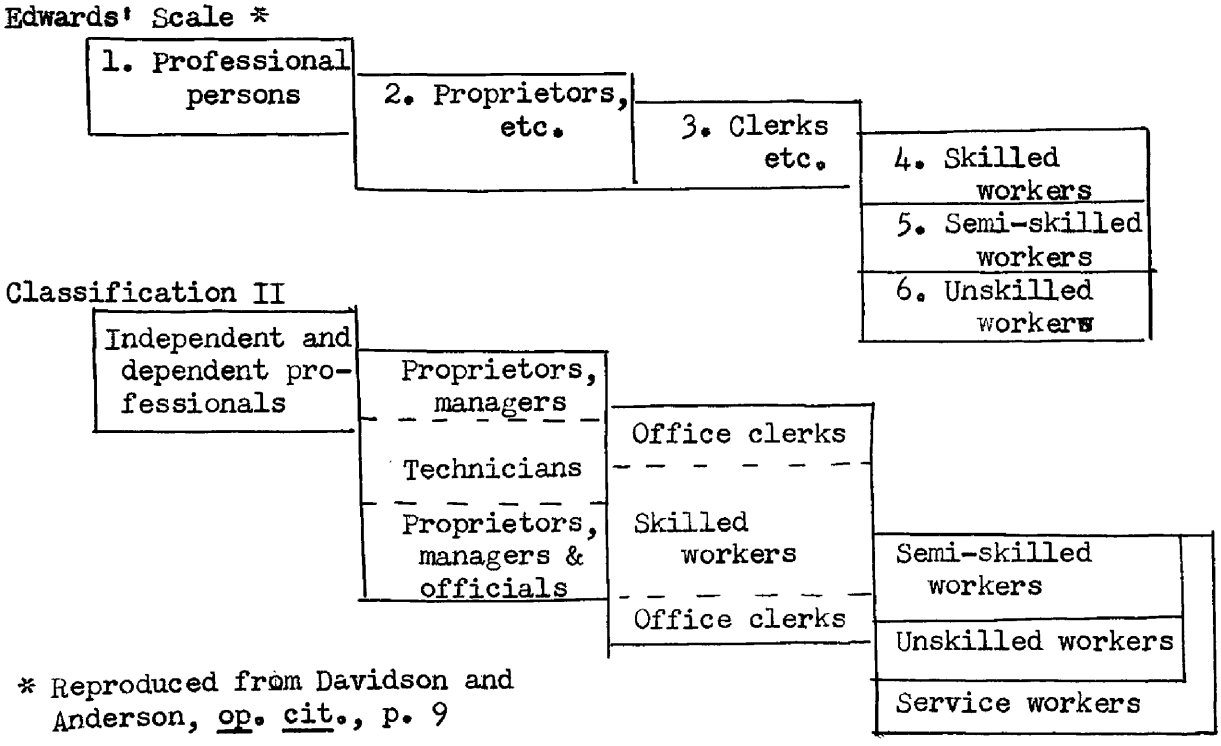
1. Independent professionals
2. Employers & self-employed
3. Salaried Employees
   - 3a. Dependent professionals
   - 3b. Managers & Officials
   - 3c. Technicians
   - 3d. Office clerks & kindred workers
   - 3c. Sales persons
4. Skilled workers
   - 4a. Foremen
   - 4b. Other skilled workers
5. Semi-skilled and operatives
   - 5a. Apprentice to skilled
   - 5b. Other semi-skilled
6. Unskilled Workers
7. Service Workers

The last three main groups of Edwards' classification roughly represents a scale of occupational competency. Ranking the competency of the first three main categories is much more difficult, for there may be as much internal variation within each category as there is between the categories. Another drawback in the scale is reflected in the fact that some occupations in the lower half of the scale require more competency than some in the upper half. A third deficiency is the inclusion of too many different occupations in some categories, and the failure to distinguish between kinds of income. The latter is very important, for it indicates whether the individual is independent or dependent on others in taking orders or in making a living. Also, the independent workers usually have more prestige.

Classification II overcomes some of these difficulties. It appears to be better suited to urban and industrial occupations than is Edwards'. Although there may remain some overlapping among the major categories, the scale of competency is roughly adhered to within each class. The scale is so arranged that it may be easily converted into classification I if necessary. The sponge-like groups in both classifications include employers and self-employed, managers and officials and office clerks.

Both the farmer who is scraping an existence from his submarginal land and the large factory owner are self-employed. In the same classes are included managers of corporations and managers of smaller service stations. Office clerks may refer to "accountants" or "file clerks." Yet a compromise must be made. Figure 3 below graphically depicts the two classifications according to a hypothetical vertical dimension of occupational competency and socio-economic status.

FIGURE 3



* Reproduced from Davidson and Anderson, op. cit., p. 9

The latter diagram is slightly more complex, but more realistic. It emphasizes the need for caution when generalizing about socio-economic levels on the basis of occupational data alone. A margin of error is implicit in all such conclusions.

(a) The Generational Occupational Pattern

The only index we have concerning the socio-economic environment in which Greenbelt heads of families were reared is the occupation of their fathers. These data were not readily available, and we made two attempts to get the information. In the summer of 1942 a questionnaire was distributed to all the families in Greenbelt, requesting of the heads of families, among other things, a description of the occupations of their fathers. Forty-three percent of the families returned these questionnaires. Because some descriptions were incomplete or because we did not have background data on some who did return the questionnaires, the sample was reduced to twenty-five percent. However, the occupational distribution of those who returned the questionnaire was similar to those who did not. The P of the x^2 of the distributions was .55. There was little reason to suppose that the characteristics of the newer people who filled out the questionnaire differed significantly from the older residents. The fact that entry requirements remained constant rather assured this. All the cases for which we had occupations of fathers are represented as Sample I in Table XIII.

In July, 1944, one hundred and fifty-one intensive personal interviews were obtained of residents who had resided in Greenbelt at least two years. Special pains were taken to insure the representative-

ness of this twenty per cent sample.[1] Although this sample is smaller, we feel that it is more accurate than Sample I. During the interviews, the subjects were asked to describe their fathers' occupational careers. The determination of the regular occupation as well as the classification of the occupations were done by the researcher. In Sample II, whenever the possibility existed that the father owned his business, the question was asked. Thus in Sample II, some fathers are classified as proprietors, whereas in Sample I they were classified as skilled workers or proprietors.

Sample III combines samples I and II. Naturally, there were some of the same people in both samples. The overlapping was eliminated, and possible the job descriptions were checked and altered in view of the more extensive knowledge about them. Sample III does not include those people in sample I of which we had no information. It contains 311 cases, or thirty-nine per cent of all Greenbelt heads of families. We shall use sample III as the most representative.

From it certain outstanding contrasts may be noted. It is obvious that the Greenbelt heads of families did not follow their fathers' footsteps. "Inheritance" of fathers occupations appeared to be the exception rather than the rule. Although Greenbelters may be a rather homogeneous group at present, their social origins, as reflected by this index are not homogeneous. This heterogeniety of social extraction is in substantial agreement with other findings.[2]

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[1] See the methodology of securing a representative sample, Part IV.

[2] See Davidson and Anderson, "Occcupational Mobility...." op. cit. p. 108.

TABLE XIII

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTIONS OF HEADS OF FAMILIES IN GREENBELT AND THAT OF THEIR FATHERS IN PERCENTAGES

Occupation	Fathers			
	Sample I[a]	Sample II[b]	Sample I & II[c]	Greenbelt
Employers and self-employed	26.0	34.0	31.1	0.9
Farmers	13.3	14.3	13.0	-
Others	12.7	19.7	18.1	.9
Managers and Officials	7.5	8.2	7.0	4.1
Professional and Semi-professional	14.6	9.5	12.7	8.1
Independent	6.2	4.1	5.1	1.9
Dependent	8.4	5.4	7.6	6.2
Office and Kindred Workers	10.4	8.8	7.9	60.9
Sales Persons	2.9	3.4	2.2	2.6
Skilled Workers	26.3	24.5	25.7	11.2
Semi-skilled workers	7.8	10.2	6.7	6.7
Unskilled and Service workers	4.5	1.4	6.7	5.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

a. Based on 308 returns on questionnaire.
b. Based on 151 intensive personal interviews.
c. Based on samples a and b combined.

But let us examine this social extraction further.

Almost one-third of all the fathers were employers or self-employed. Of these, less than one-half were farmers who owned and operated their own farms, shops, grocery stores, mills, restaurants, small contractors, and so forth. Apart from these, seven per cent of the fathers managed businesses or were officials. This means that about thirty-seven per cent of the fathers either owned and operated their own businesses or operated businesses for others. This petite bourgois extraction of clerical workers is probably not untypical.

Almost an equal proportion, thirty-nine per cent, had fathers who were manual workers of one type or another. One-quarter of all fathers were skilled workers. Many of these had been farmers or independent craftsmen who became employed as "mechanics." Whereas two-fifths of the fathers were manual workers, only one-fifth of the sons were in this occupations.

Whereas one-eighth of the fathers were professional or semi-professional workers, only eight per cent of their sons entered the same occupations. As one would expect, the sons that did become professionals were to a larger extent, "dependent" professionals.

The most obvious difference between the two groups is, of course, their respective proportions of clerical workers. Only one-tenth of the fathers were clerical workers, but over sixty per cent of the sons became clerks or kindred workers. This pattern is not typical for the country, but it does indicate the general type of movement. The social extraction of the white-collar groups is important in explaining certain political and psychological attributes which we shall discuss below.

Table XIV presents the analysis of social extraction more exactly. It attempts to arrive at generalizations whether the occupations of the fathers had any effect on the occupations their sons entered. Despite the relative occupational homogeniety of Greenbelters, there is evidence that the occupation of fathers did affect their sons' work choices. For example, although sons of professionals entered all occupational levels, a greater proportion of them became professionals than sons of fathers of other occupations. Sons of proprietors and small businessmen also exhibited greater chances of becoming proprietors and professionals, than did sons of fathers of other occupations. As one would expect, the sons of clerks became clerks to a larger proportion than did others. A higher proportion of sons of clerical workers became professionals than did sons of any other major groups, save professionals.

For those who had fathers in manual occupations, apparently their chances of entering manual occupations were larger than for children of white-collar fathers. The number of cases of semi-skilled and unskilled workers are too small to make generalizations without reservation. A general trend, however, is noted, that the manual workers send a smaller proportion of their sons into the higher white-collar jobs, and larger relative proportions into the manual jobs.

Comparing the occupational distribution of the fathers of Greenbelt with the fathers of the workers of San José,[1] a not untypical urban group, these significant differences appear: Greenbelters had larger proportions of fathers who were professional and semi-professionals, clerical and skilled workers, while the San José group had greater proportions of proprietors, and "lower" manual levels. The comparison reflects a larger urban derivation, for Greenbelt with its greater

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[1] See Davidson and Anderson, Occupational Mobility....op cit., p. 29.

TABLE XIV

THE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF GREENBELTERS ACCORDING TO THEIR FATHER'S OCCUPATION

Occupation of Fathers	Occupation of Sons as of Date of Entry[a]						
	Professional and Semi-professional	Proprietors Managers and officials	Clerical & Kindred Workers	Skilled Workers	Semi-Skilled Workers	Un-skilled Workers	Total
Professional & Semi-prof. (41)	19.5 %	2.4 %	58.6 %	7.3 %	9.7 %	2.4 %	99.9 %
Proprietors, Mgrs., and Officials (119)	8.4	10.1	58.8	11.8	7.6	3.4	100.1
Clerical & Kindred Workers (32)	9.4	-	78.1	6.3	3.1	3.1	99.9
Skilled Workers (80)	6.2	3.8	62.5	13.7	10.0	3.8	100.0
Semi-Skilled Workers (19)	-	-	68.4	10.5	15.8	5.3	100.0
Unskilled and Service Workers (20)	10.0	10.0	60.0	10.0	10.0	-	-

a. Four cases were rejected.
b. Excludes independent professionals but includes farmers

representation of "dependent" occupations.

Have the Greenbelters risen or fallen from the occupational levels of their respective fathers? Table XIV suggests that fewer sons have followed the proprietory, manual, and professional levels of their fathers. However, many sons of manual fathers have "climbed" into clerical (office) occupations. Very few of the fathers were in salaried occupations. Most of them were proprietors and professionals, on the one hand, and manual workers on the other. Their sons, however, entered clerical (office) occupations.

The fact that the sons were represented more heavily in dependent occupations than their fathers, plus the fact that the shift of the sons down from proprietors and professional planes was greater than the rise from manual to the clerical levels, suggests that the sons experienced small occupational "descent" in respect to their fathers occupations.

(b) Occupational Mobility of Greenbelters. In discussing vertical mobility, Davidson and Anderson reason:[1]

> ....a positive correlation is known to exist between the Edwards' scale of levels and amounts of income, and because a similar correlation of levels with degrees of occupational competancy almost surely exists, there is considerable likelihood that a move upward in occupational level involves the application of greater skill ....and a higher income, and conversely, that a move downwards involves relatively less of each. These considerations should be kept in mind when interpreting findings....on vertical mobility.

There can be little doubt that many specific instances may be called that do not support the above statement. One should not, however, become lost in too many details. In the next chapter we shall demonstrate

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[1] Occupational Mobility, op. cit., p. 87.

that the quoted relationship does in fact roughly apply to Greenbelters. Lacking other techniques, we shall proceed to use occupational mobility as an index of vertical mobility in general. The relationship of vertical mobility to political attitudes and action must not be forgotten or ignored, even when the analysis deals only with occupational changes.

Greenbelt wage earners, although rather young (thirty-five years average in 1942) have experienced considerable occupational mobility. Since most of them are civil service workers, apportioned by States, they have worked in many different places. Apart from this crude geographic mobility, they have been engaged, as a group, in several regular occupations. Table XV below summarizes the number of occupational changes experienced.

TABLE XV

THE NUMBER OF REGULAR OCCUPATIONS REPORTED FOR GREENBELT'S HEADS OF FAMILIES AS OF DATE OF ENTRY

Number of Regular Occupations	Number	Per Cent
Present and only	91	11.5
Two	185	23.3
Three	208	26.2
Four	131	16.5
Five	93	11.7
Six	56	7.1
Seven of more	29	3.7
Total	793	100.0
No information	11	
Grand Total	804	

The amount of occupational mobility for the groups is considerable. Almost two-thirds of the wage earners have been engaged in at least three regular occupations. The minimum mean number of occupations for the group

as a whole is 3.2. The corresponding figure for San José is 3.6, which is about the same as for our population, since Greenbelt's figure is an underestimation. Since the average age of Greenbelt wage earners is lower than of San José, it is even possible that the former has experienced more mobility.[1] The number of jobs held for less than six months was very great, especially in the depression years. It was during those years that many of our respondents were attempting to secure a regular jobs. Needless to say, mobility has occurred since these statistics were gathered. The war has accelerated the amount of job changes.

An examination of individual career-patterns shows a great amount of upward and downward mobility. Here are several abbreviated cases chosen at random, demonstrating this.

> Number 701 (case number of a resident) is married, has two children and is a semi-skilled worker. He is 27 years old, engaged as a paper cutter at the Bureau of Printing and Engraving in Washington, D. C. He operates a papercutting machine and cuts rough edges of bound publications. He has had four regular occupations, three of them different. At the age of seventeen he became a bartender, a job which lasted two years. After that time he set up his own café for a year. When this collapsed, he left St. Louis, Missouri and obtained a job as a clerk in a government agency. Six months later he secured his present job, which he has held for the past three years.
>
> Number 702, is a clerk at the Census Bureau in Washington. He is married, 28 years old, and has a son. When he was eighteen years old, he obtained a job as a bookkeeper in New York City business firm. He took and passed a civil service examination and became a clerk-typist in the New York regional branch of the Department of Labor. He left

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[1] Woytinsky, op. cit., reports on p. 77 that the average age for industrial workers is 38.8 years. For clerks in public service, 39.0. The mean age for Greenbelt earners is 34.8 years.

this job for a higher salaried one as an accountant in private business. In 1940 he returned to government service and was sent to Washington as a clerk.

Number 638, is thirty-four years old, married, and has no children. He has been a library assistant in the War department for eleven years. Born in Rochester, New York he joined the army at seventeen after finishing high school. There he became post-librarian. Two years later he returned home and took a job as a shipping clerk. After two years, he secured his present job and moved to Washington.

Number 270, is a teacher in a small, nearby Maryland community. He is married, has no children and is twenty-eight years old. After college he taught for a year, but later became a bookkeeper for the Farm Security Agency. After one-half year of this in 1937, he returned to teaching and not changed his job since.

Number 150, is a forty-three year old spinister. In 1926 she worked as a bookkeeper for a small firm in Scranton, Pennsylvania. After five years she left the firm for another job with a $200 a year raise. After seven years, in 1938, she took a civil service examination and is now a clerk-stenographer in the Department of Agriculture.

Number 521, is an electrician working in a government agency. He is forty-five years old, married, and has four children. When 21, he went to sea as a radio operator. After eleven years he set up his own radio shop and sold and repaired radios. When the depression ruined his business, he obtained a government job as an electrician in 1935.

Number 459, is a draftsman in the Navy department. He is thirty-one, married, and has a daughter. After college he took a job in Woodsdale, North Carolina as a teacher. After three years he left for Newport News, Va. to be a draftsman, but returned to teaching after a year. After two such jobs, he again became an engineer of a building firm, but abandoned the job to become a draftsman in Washington. All moves were apparently made to secure more money.

These cases show the complexity of occupational movements. Reduction of such data to tabular form enables us to see trends if they exist.

(1) First Regular Occupation to Present Occupation

By comparing the first regular occupation of a group with the present occupation, one obtains a picture of the occupational history or career of the group. If most individuals remain in the same occupation in which they began, one may conclude that the mobility was small and that the occupational structure for these individuals was quite rigid. Conversely, much mobility signifies a more "open" occupational structure.

Table XVI compares the level of the first and present regular occupations. From it we note that invividuals in each beginning occupational level branched out on every other level listed, with two exceptions. No professional beginners "ended" as skilled laborers, and no unskilled workers rose to the professional level. Despite the range in ascent and descent, certain patterns may be noted.

Over one-half of those who started on the professional and semi-professional level maintained their status. The remaining, of course, experienced descent. Almost all of these became clerks of one type or another, almost none decended below the clerical category.

The number of proprietors may be too small to generalize without qualifications. Less than one-fifth of beginning proprietors remained in the same category. Over one-half of them became clerks, while the remainder distributed themselves in various levels of manual occupations.

As for the clerks, almost all, 85.7% who started as clerks remained in this group. No pattern is evident for those who left the clerical level.

About one-half who began as skilled craftsmen stayed on the

TABLE XVI

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF THE FIRST REGULAR JOB AND THE PRESENT REGULAR OCCUPATION IN PERCENTAGES

"First Regular" Occupation	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents Whose "Regular" Occupations Are on Levels Indicated: Profes-sional & Semi-prof.	Propri-etors etc.	Clerks etc.	Skilled Workers	Semi-Skilled	Un-skilled	Total
Professionals & Semi-prof.	89	53.3	1.1	42.1	-	1.1	2.3	99.9
Proprietors, Managers, & Officials	71	2.8	18.6	52.9	10.0	7.1	8.6	100.0
Clerks & Kindred Workers	370	2.4	3.8	85.7	4.1	2.2	1.6	99.9
Skilled Workers	122	3.2	4.1	27.3	49.6	7.4	8.3	100.0
Semi-skilled Workers	83	2.4	2.4	45.1	9.8	29.3	11.0	100.0
Unskilled Workers	69	-	4.4	72.5	4.4	5.8	13.0	100.1
All Levels	804	8.1	5.0	63.4	11.2	6.7	5.5	99.9

Note: This table is made like the one used by David and Anderson, Occupational Mobility, op. cit., p. 95

same level. Twenty-seven per cent of the total became clerks, in contrast to the fifteen per cent who fell to the unskilled and semi-skilled levels.

Only thirty per cent of the semi-skilled experienced no mobility. All but eleven per cent climbed to higher categories, the major proportion becoming clerks. The same situation, though more greatly exaggerated, applies for the unskilled. Here almost three-quarters became clerk.

In summary; those who began their work-careers in "white-collar" brackets either remained there or tended to fall in the lower regions. The manual workers, on the other hand, experienced ascent. The "lower" manual workers climbed farther than did other manual workers. Although this may be somewhat spurious trend, it is well to note that almost no ascent above the clerical level was experienced by manual workers.

(2) Present Occupation to First Regular Occupation

The data shown in Table XVI are in a sense reversed in Table XVII. Here one reads backwards from the present regular occupation to the initial occupation. An examination of the table reveals some interesting facts. Almost seven-tenths of the professionals began their careers on this level, while sixteen per cent began as clerks, and ten per cent as skilled workers.

The proprietors come primarily from proprietory and clerical levels. Six-tenths of the clerks started as clerks, the remainder began working in about equal proportions in all other occupations.

Exactly two-thirds of the skilled workers were first employed in that kind of work. About an equal proportion of the remainder were

derived from "higher" and "lower" levels. Over one-half of the semi-skilled laborers began their careers in the lowest two levels, while only thirty-eight per cent of the unskilled were recruited from these levels. The bulk of the remainder for the semi-skilled and unskilled began as skilled or clerical workers.

Although this table and the preceding one are, in a sense reciprocal, the latter demonstrates more clearly that the amount of mobility was actually quite small. In only the unskilled level was a plurality lacking for those whose initial jobs were on the same level. If we total the percentages on either side of the first occupation of any indicated level, we note that in all cases, save for the unskilled, at least seventy per cent of the cases were recruited from the same level or from immediately adjacent levels. This appears to be a cultural trait since other studies show substantially the same trend.[1]

Comparing the occupational distributions for the first regular job and the present jobs, we see that the proportion of clerical workers has actually decreased. On the other hand, the ratio of manual workers has grown, as have the proportions of professionals and proprietors. However, the manual workers have increased faster than the other white-collar occupations, emphasizing the perceptible "decline" of the group as a whole.

(c) Career Patterns by Occupations. Although Greenbelt's earning population is largely composed of office clerks, it has sizable representations in other major occupational categories. We have seen that although

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[1] Cf. Davidson and Anderson, Occupational Mobility....op. cit., p. 92 especially, and Taussig and Joslyn, op. cit., Chapter 9.

TABLE XVII

COMPARISON BETWEEN LEVELS OF PRESENT REGULAR OCCUPATION AND LEVEL OF FIRST PERMANENT JOB

Level of "Present Occupation"	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents Whose "First Regular Jobs" Were on Levels Indicated: Professional & Semi-prof.	Proprietors etc.	Clerks etc.	Skilled Workers	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	Tot.
Professionals & semi-prof.	65	68.2	4.8	16.0	9.5	1.6	-	100.1
Proprietors, Managers, & Officials	40	2.7	35.1	38.0	13.5	5.4	5.4	100.1
Clerks & Kindred Workers	511	5.1	8.1	62.1	6.1	8.1	10.6	100.1
Skilled Workers	90	-	5.6	13.4	66.3	10.1	4.5	99.9
Semi-skilled Workers	54	2.0	11.8	18.1	17.7	40.8	9.8	100.0
Unskilled Workers	44	4.8	11.9	21.5	23.8	19.0	19.0	100.0
All levels	804	10.8	7.6	45.7	15.1	11.9	9.0	100.1

Note: This table is modelled after one used by Davidson and Anderson, Ibid., p. 98.

some inter-job mobility has occurred, intra-job changes have accounted for most of the shifts. The causes of this are probably extra-individual in nature. That is, the lack of mobility and resultant stratification arise from institutional or societal causes. Since this probably is so, one should be able to discern some of the factors which are responsible for the nature of social stratification and social mobility: Career patters should indicate the operations of these factors. While the relative influence of each factor may not be specifiable, it would be valuable to know at least their cumulative effect. Some key indices that may be used to describe career patterns are as follows:

(1) The regular occupation of the fathers. It denotes roughly the socio-economic environment in which the sons were reared. Also it indicates the amount and nature of opportunities, goods, and services available to the sons, and so forth.

(2) The amount of schooling obtained by the sons is somewhat dependent on the above factor. But education itself is a factor in the range of accessible occupations. Educational accomplishment are especially necessary for certain professional, proprietory, and clerical jobs. Even for skilled work, special vocational training may be a mandatory prerequisite.

(3) The level of the first permanent occupation of the sons is important for a number of reasons. In the first place, some jobs lead only to a "blind alley," while others offer opportunities for climbing. Income, which is related to occupation, influences various welfare standards, as well as future educational and other opportunities.

(4) The ultimate regular occupational level on which the sons are employed is the end of the career for the moment at least. It sets income limits and, therefore, confines the plane of living and future opportunities.

No claim is made that the four enumerated milestones describe adequately the changes in socio-economic status, but they do offer signposts to what is happening.

The above four indices for each major occupational level is summarized in the form of a diagram.[1] Beginning at the left hand vertical column in each figure, the occupational level of the fathers is first indicated. The next column shows the amount of schooling attained by the sons, followed by their first regualr job level. The extreme right indicates the present regular occupation of the sons.

In arranging the diagrams, we naturally found a great deal of variation in individual career patterns. Davidson and Anderson extracted from each level, only those patterns which appeared to follow certain typical trends. These "sample careers," never amounted to over 63% of all the cases on any level. Thus, characteristic "types" of related circumstances differentiating the several occupational levels of workers were obtained. Although this technique produced greater diagrammatic clarity, it sacrificed accuracy. We shall include all data in our diagrams. If the interconnecting lines between the four main facets include less than three per cent of the total data, they are omitted for reasons of clarity.

A note of caution in the interpretation of the diagrams: Three of the four categories are occupational. With a few exceptions, one may describe without much distortion the changes from one level to another. The educational axis breaks up the "purity" of the indices. Because an occupation is placed opposite a specified amount of education, one may not

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[1] This diagramatic presentation was suggested by similar diagrams in Davidson and Anderson, op. cit., pp. 105-113.

conclude that the amount of education and the occupational level are necessarily associated. The placement of gradations on the "schooling" axis is purely arbitrary. Below are brief career-patterns for each major occupational level.

(1) Professional and Semi-Professional Workers

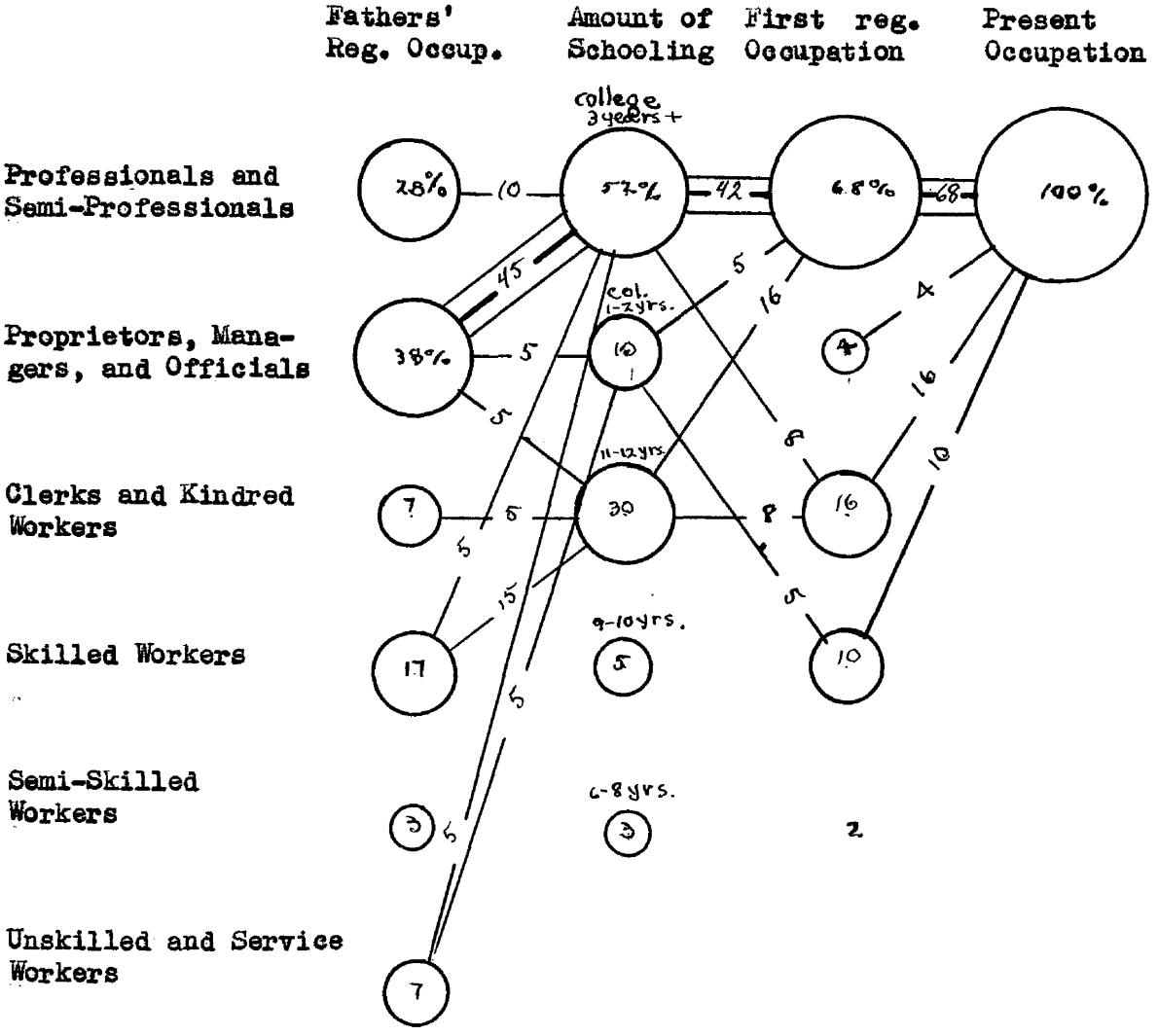
In Figure 4 the patterns of respondents engaged in professional pursuits are displayed. Almost two-fifths of these had fathers who were primarily proprietors and small businessmen. Twenty-eight per cent, however, had professional fathers. That is, two-thirds of the group had fathers from the upper two levels, and seven per cent had clerical fathers. Less than three-tenths of the fathers were manual workers, and most all of these were skilled craftsmen. The educational level of the group was high. Almost two-thirds of the sons had some college education, and most of the remainder had completed high school. Almost seventy per cent of the group moved directly from school into professional work. In the first job, only sixteen per cent did clerical work and only ten per cent did any manual labor. The predominant pattern is clear. About two-thirds were born in families of higher circumstances, obtained at least some college training, moved directly into a profession, and remained there. It is interesting to note that a great proportion of those whose fathers were clerks and skilled workers obtained at least a high school education. They began working in the lower edge of the professions; that is, in the "semi-professions". Those whose fathers were unskilled had to have some college training to "crack" the professions.

(2) Proprietors, Managers, and Officials

Although we have only a twenty per cent sample of the occupations

FIGURE 4

CAREERS OF PROFESSIONAL AND SEMI-PROFESSIONAL WORKERS

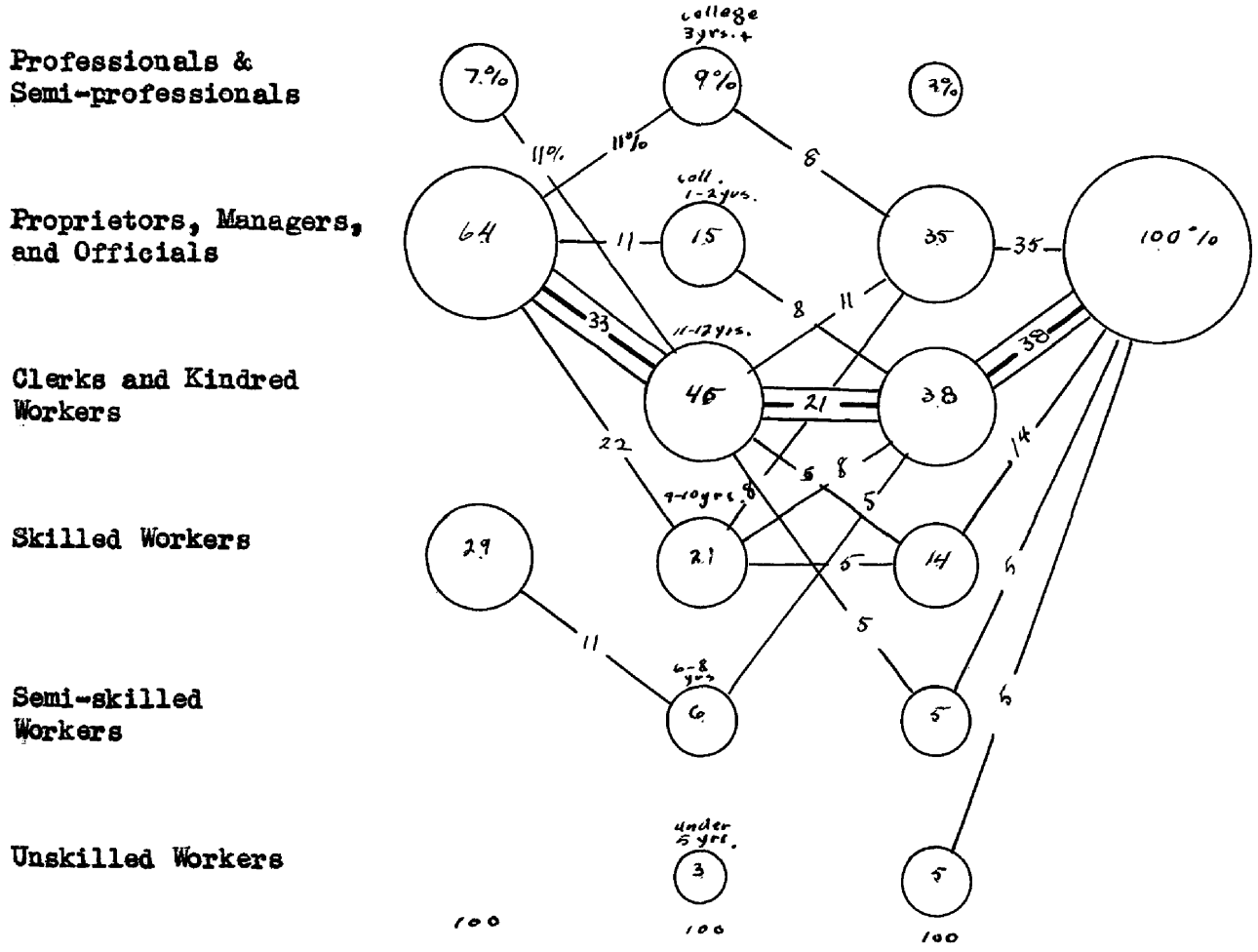


Note: There were eighty-eight cases of professionals. Thirty cases of father's occupation were secured, a thirty-four per cent sample. Although the sample is not as large as we would like it is large enough to depict general conditions.

This diagram and subsequent ones are modeled after those used by Davidson and Anderson, Ibid., Chapter 7.

FIGURE 5

CAREERS OF PROPRIETORS, MANAGERS, AND OFFICIALS



Note: The total number of proprietors was seventy, but occupations of fathers were obtained for only fourteen cases, or twenty per cent. Caution in the interpretation of column one is necessary.

of the fathers of proprietors, it probably is no accident that almost two-thirds of the fathers were proprietors. The homes of the sons were primarily those of owners of small business or business managers. A little over one-quarter had skilled fathers. The education of the sons is quite dispersed. Although the range of schooling was large, from under five years to over three years of college, the general level was high. One-quarter had some college training, forty-six per cent had three to four years of high school. Only about thirty per cent did not go beyond the tenth grade. Despite the disparity in training, almost three-quarters were equally divided between proprietors and clerks in their first regular jobs. Almost all of the remainder began in some manual work, although the numbers in unskilled work was negligible.

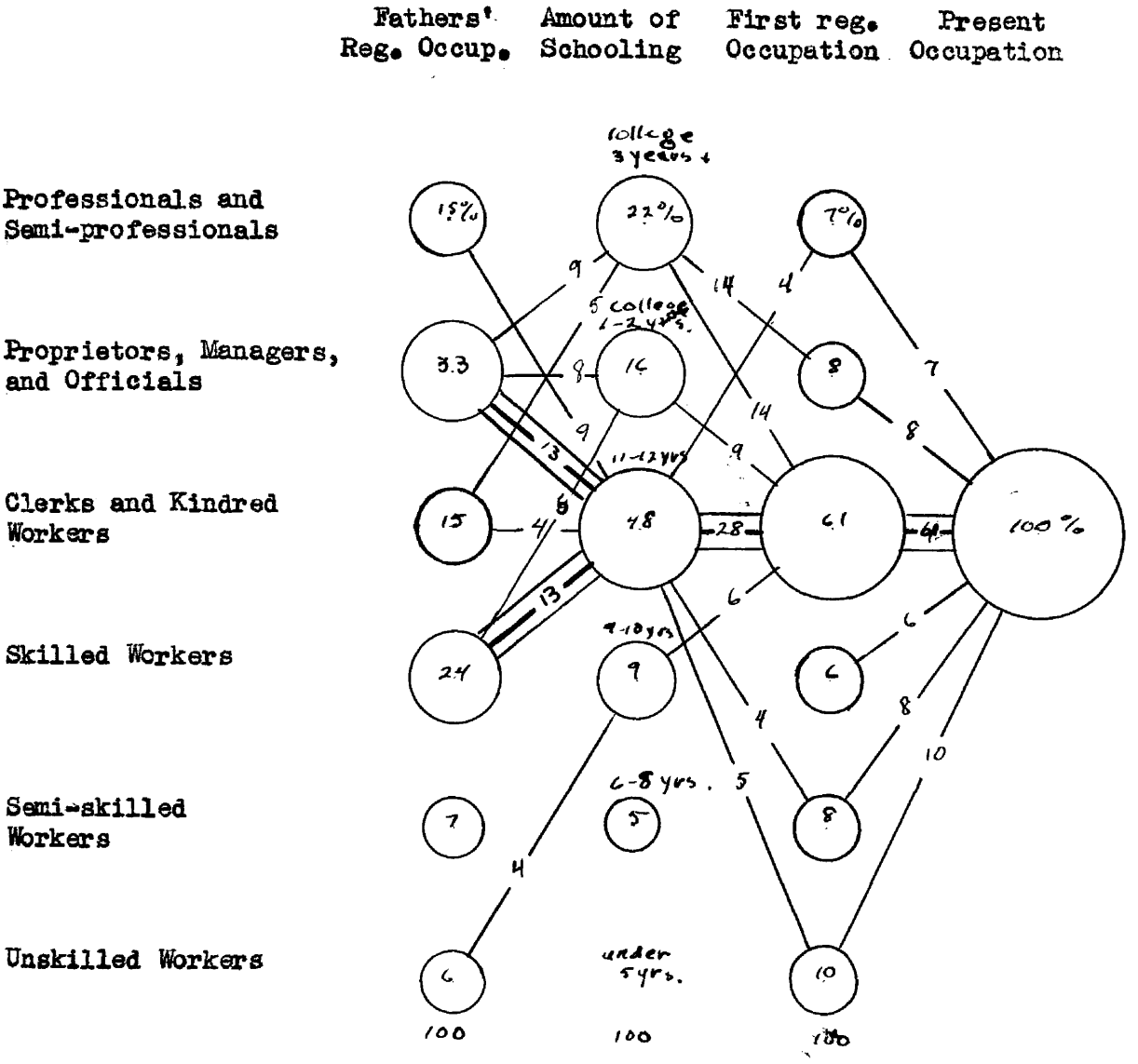
The characteristic pattern of proprietors, here as elsewhere, is to have proprietor father, to attain high school education, more or less, to move into clerical or proprietory occupations, and then shift in the proprietory level and remain there.

(3) Clerical Workers

There is considerable spread in the family origins of the clerical respondents as shown in Figure 6. Almost seventy per cent of the group had fathers whose regular occupations were proprietors, or skilled workers. Although all other levels were represented, almost two-thirds had fathers in the upper three levels. This heterogenous social origin for clerical workers is not untypical. But it is unusual for only fifteen per cent of the fathers to be clerks. This is in part, but not entirely, due to the smaller proportion of clerks in the population a generation ago.

FIGURE 6

CAREERS OF CLERKS AND KINDRED WORKERS



Note: This group contains about 450 office clerks, twenty-two sales clerks, and thirty-four technicians. Occupational data for 198 fathers was secured. This is a forty-four per cent sample.

Almost all of this group had some high school or college training, fifty-seven and thirty-eight per cent respectively. Only six per cent had no high school training whatsoever. Only the professional group had more training than the clerical workers. Although the latter obtained their first regular jobs on all occupational levels, the great majority, sixty-one per cent, began as clerks. Twenty-five per cent began doing manual jobs, and fifteen per cent began on the professional and proprietory levels. All, of course, ended by doing clerical work.

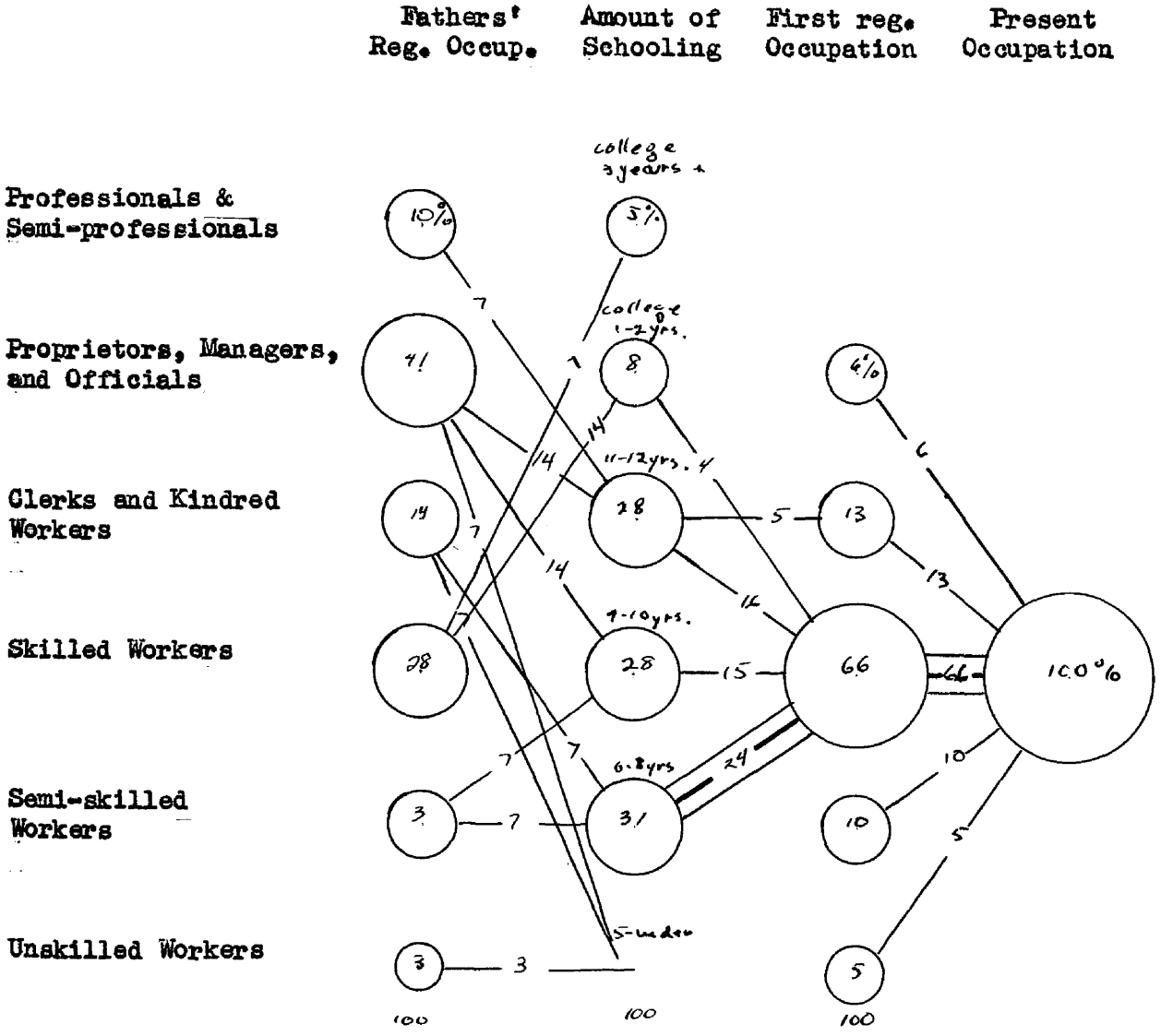
The pattern here is uneven. The fathers were mostly small businessmen and skilled workers. They gave their sons a high school education or better. Most of the sons began to work as clerks, and a few as manual workers, but all ended as clerks. The history of the clerks is in the main horizontal, but it also displayed slight downward mobility. The importance of this fact is not to be ignored.

(4) Skilled Workers

The career-pattern of this group is almost as variable as that of the clerks. A plurality, forty-one per cent, of the craftsmen were reared in the homes of proprietors. Three-tenths had fathers who were also craftsmen, while smaller proportions had fathers on all other levels. The distribution here is not far different than that of the clerks. This may be in part due to the smallness of the sample. But what may be more important, perhaps, is that only twenty-eight per cent of the sons obtained three to four years of high school training. Whereas slightly less than one-third of the group received eight years or less of schooling, only thirteen per cent had some college training. To put it differently, over sixty per cent of the group received less than ten years of schooling.

FIGURE 7

CAREERS OF SKILLED WORKERS



Note: There were ninety craftsmen in our group, for which we obtained the occupations of twenty-nine fathers, or one-third of the total.

It is unusual that two-thirds of the group became skilled craftsmen directly on leaving school. The apprentice period appears to have been "played up." One-third of the group began to work as clerks or as semi-skilled workers, but ended on the skilled level.

Summarizing the patterns as a whole, it is evident that the group experienced slight downward mobility. Almost two-thirds were reared in the homes of proprietors, clerks, or craftsmen. The majority then obtained ten years of schooling, or less, entered directly into skilled work, and remained there.

(5) Semi-Skilled Workers

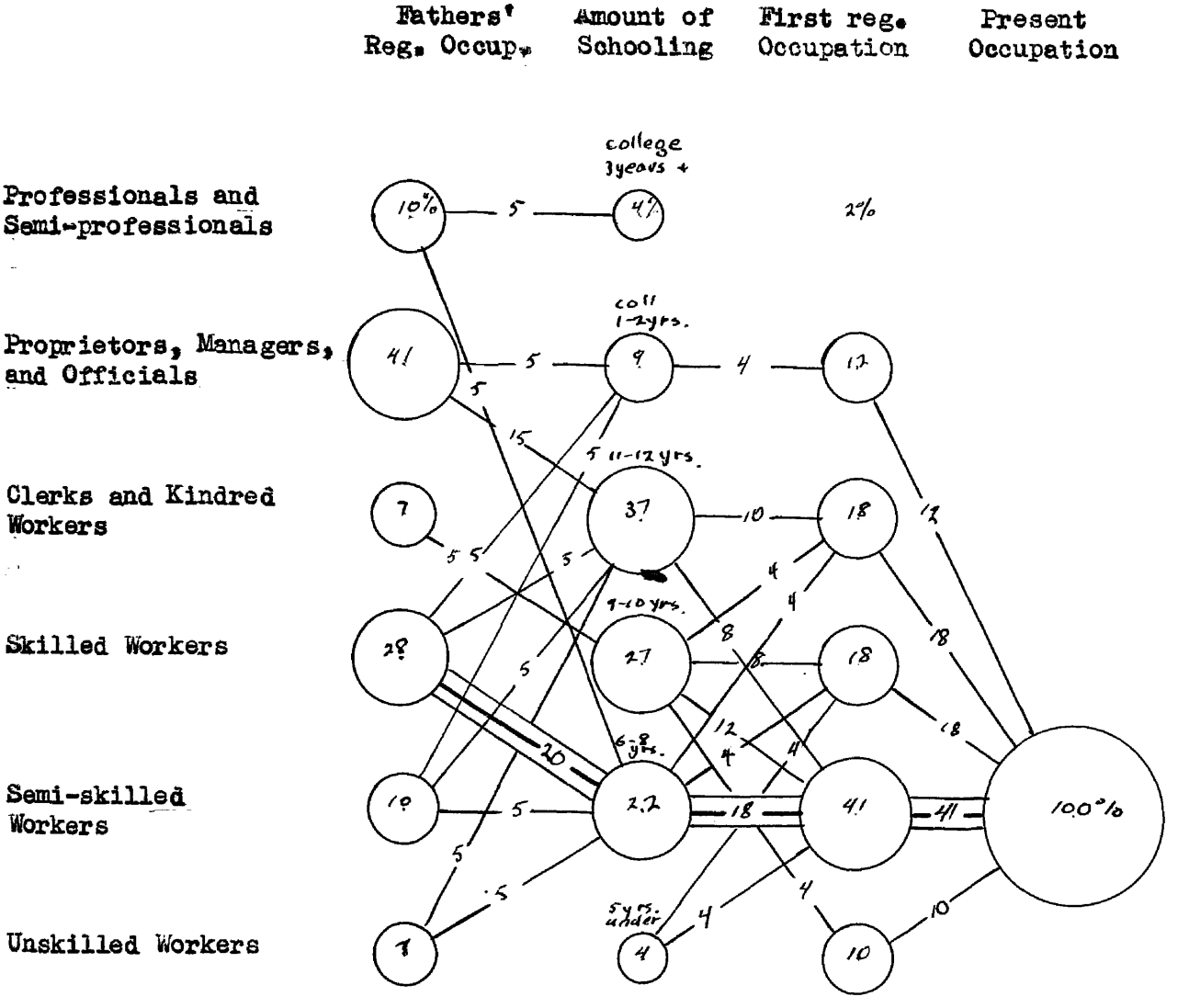
Here again we see that the semi-skilled workers in our sample were reared in homes representing all levels of occupations. Figure 8 shows that slightly less than fifty per cent of their fathers were manual workers. Although two-fifths of the fathers were classified as proprietors, almost all of them were farmers. Only a few were professionals or clerical workers.

The educational attainment of this group is about the same as the skilled workers. Almost two-fifths were provided with three to four years of high school, and almost one-quarter completed one to two years of high school. Although over one-quarter never passed beyond the eighth grade, twelve per cent had some college training.

On completing school, two-fifths began to do semi-skilled or routine work. Almost three-tenths entered some other type of manual work, while eighteen per cent began as clerks, and twelve per cent as proprietors. To summarize: the semi-skilled workers were recruited from all levels, but the majority had fathers in farming and manual jobs. Although the majority had some high school, one-half never went beyond the tenth grade. On

FIGURE 8

CAREERS OF SEMI-SKILLED WORKERS



Note: Fifty-four cases of semi-skilled workers were available. We secured the occupations of twenty-nine fathers, or fifty-four per cent of the total. Again caution is needed in interpretation.

completing school, seventy per cent became employed in some type of manual work, but finally all became semi-skilled workers. This group experienced considerably more downward mobility than other occupational strata.

(6) Unskilled Workers

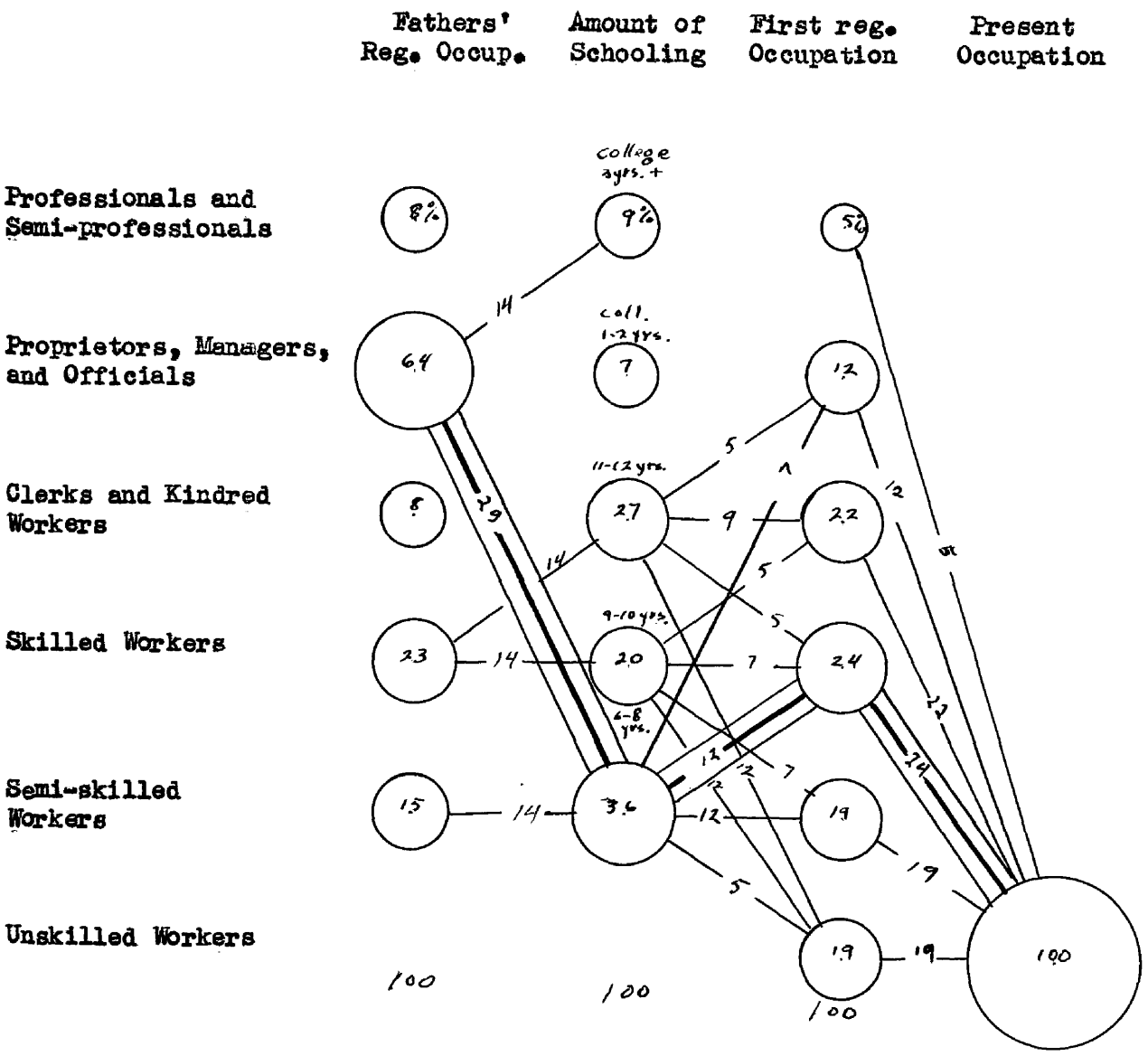
In Figure 9, again the predominant role of proprietory (farmer) origin is indicated. Combining the skilled and semi-skilled, we find that thirty-eight per cent of the fathers were manual workers (no unskilled fathers). The range of schooling provided runs the full length of the scale. Although forty-seven per cent received some high school training, almost forty per cent received less than that. Even though a few obtained college training, this group was the most poorly trained of all. One-fifth started to work at unskilled jobs and over sixty per cent began on other manual levels. Although the initial occupational level of almost one-third of the group was on the clerical and higher levels, all ended on the unskilled plane. This group shows gross downward mobility. The effects of the depression were undoubtedly severe, forcing them to accept and retain jobs on the lower levels. The small numbers of this group in our population means that the above generalization are made with reservations.

5: Summary

The fathers of the professionals and proprietors in Greenbelt were for the most part proprietors; that is, small business men and managers. The educational level of the professionals however, was considerably higher than that of the proprietors. After college the former entered the professions directly and remained there. Many of the small business men

FIGURE 9

CAREERS OF UNSKILLED AND SERVICE WORKERS



Note: There were forty-four workers in this category; we obtained the occupations of only thirteen, about thirty-per cent of the sample. This whole diagram must be interpreted with caution. The proprietors in this case were almost all farmers.

after receiving a high school education began work as independent owners or as clerks. The majority of the clerks had fathers who were proprietors and skilled workers, although some were rather equally scattered in the other occupations. The education of the clerks was quite high, in between that of the professionals and the proprietors. They had at least a high school education or better. Most of them entered into clerical work directly and remained there.

The fathers of the manual workers showed greater occupational diversity did other groups. The majority were primarily farmers or skilled workers. Their sons received significantly less education than did white-collared groups. They moved more or less directly into manual labor and remained there. Education was probably a more important factor in the determination of occupational level of the sons than was fathers' occupation, although the two were, of course, related.

6: The Effects of the War

Table VIII below presents the occupational distribution of Greenbelt heads of families for three periods; first regular occupation, date of entry into Greenbelt, and June 1943. The effects of the war on the occupational structure may be in part noted in the occupational changes since date of entry.

The proportion in the clerical occupations decreased most, from sixty to forty-five per cent, a drop of eighteen per cent. Some who had been clerks became for the most part sub-managers, petty officials, and skilled workers. Most of the eleven per cent increase in managers and officials resulted from promotion of "higher" clerks to "supervisory"

positions in the federal service.

TABLE XVIII

PERCENTAGE OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION OF GREENBELT HEADS OF FAMILIES FOR FIRST REGULAR OCCUPATIONS, AT DATE OF ENTRY, AND AT JUNE, 1943

Occupations	First Regular Occupation	Date of Entry	June, 1943[a]
Professional and semi-prof.	11.1	8.1	10.2
Prop. Mgrs., officials	8.8	5.0	16.9
Clerical and kindred	46.0	63.5	45.3
Skilled workers	15.2	11.2	17.3
Semi-skilled workers	10.3	6.7	8.3
Unskilled workers	8.6	5.5	2.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

[a] The group at this time was about three-quarters of the group on date of entry.

They experienced at the same time considerable salary increase. Some of the clerks became skilled workers, to obtain more money, in order to get into essential war industries, and other reasons. A few unskilled workers learned skills during the war. They, too, helped to swell the skilled category. The number of professional workers increased a little, as did the semi-skilled. The latter was, in part, due to the drafting of soldiers.

Comparing the occupational distribution of the three periods, a striking conclusion may be drawn. The occupational structure of Greenbelters in 1943 was more similar to that of the period of the first regular occupation, than to the period when the group entered Greenbelt. The only exception applies to the "manager and official" class, and possibly to the unskilled. A number of reasons may be responsible for this state of affairs. Since the first and third periods offered better employment,

opportunities, one may speculate that a sizable number may have regarded clerical work as a necessary depression expedient. Of course, other explanations are also probable. They may be the attraction of higher wages in some non-clerical jobs, the wish to escape the ennui of clerical work, the desire for advancement and so forth.

CHAPTER VII

THE STATUS STRUCTURE OF GREENBELT, MARYLAND

The prestige structure of Greenbelt is not sharp and clear. One reason for this may be that Greenbelt is not a community in the sociological sense. Since most of the heads of families do not work in Greenbelt, a major part of their "status world" is located outside of Greenbelt, in Washington. It is important to remember in this connection, that most of their work associates are not neighbors. This means that Greenbelters participate in not one, but in a number of status structures, which may have only a few inter-connections. It is impossible for us to examine in great detail the positions that Greenbelt earners occupy in the status structures outside of the town. Only gross empirical indices, such as occupation in an occupational hierarchy, could be used in this connection. Our main focus here is on the status structure of the town itself as a place of residence. Below, we shall describe in rough outline, the status groups in order of descending rank. The demarcation between these groups is not always clear.[1]

1: At the top of the status scale are those governmental officials selected by the federal agency to supervise or direct local affairs. They are the community manager and his assistant, the chief family selection agent, and one or two other officials. These people receive deference in all public or semi-public meetings. For example, they are

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1 "Discovering" the status groups is not too difficult methodologically. One observes who defers to whom, or asks people whom do they "respect" and so forth. See Warner and Lunt, op. cit. Discovering the bases of status or the "principles" upon which it is based is more difficult methodologically.

never addressed by their first name. In council meetings the town manager repeatedly suggested that no one refer to the other's first name. Frequently, the name of the office is used to refer to the person, as for example "The town manager," of the "manager." In official conversation "proper perspective" is maintained by the latter by referring to the town as the "project." These and other techniques are employed to maintain social distance. Some townspeople do not appreciate these top officials as personalities. Indeed, some of them are intensely disliked by a few citizens. But on the whole, they are liked as well as respected. The techniques used by "old line" politicians to ingratiate their constituencies work well in Greenbelt.[1] One official, being naive at this game of politics, soon learned it so well that the "chief" had to ask him to "slow down a bit."

As suggested, the citizens conform in public to the deference demands of the office, irrespective of their feelings toward the officials. As far as the author is aware, on only three occasions were top officials attacked personally in public. In each case, the attackers were condemned by all present as being both "disrespectful" to both the persons and to the offices that they occupied.

The motives for deferring vary with groups. Maintaining the good-will of someone who has power may be sufficient cause for honoring them in public. To secure endorsement of a pet project may demand "proper appreciation" on the part of the supplicant. Many citizens realize that if officials do not endorse their projects, the chances of

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[1] The rules of ingratiation are fairly simple: Be attainable once in a while, support the "pet" causes of strong groups, be friendly, call people by their first names, always offer some hope for a project's fulfillment, throw off "blame" on impersonal forces, inquire about intimate aspects of peoples lives, etc.

realizing them are small.

The alleged attitude of the Administration is, "If the citizens desire something, they must take the initiative and procure it without official aid if possible." In practice, if a need is voiced consistently enough by citizens in their contacts with officials, the latter may, through the Adult Education office, actually organize the citizens and push the plans through. For example, repeated attempts of the citizens to create the Community Band and the Nursery School failed until the Administration provided the continuous effort needed. The Town Fair needed such backing in 1942 and did not receive it. It did not materialize.

Citizens are somewhat aware of their dependent status. Those successful in realizing their schemes express their appreciation publicly by giving officials honorary or life memberships to their organizations. For example, the athletic field, one of the best in the region, constructed for the Athletic Association, was named after the town manager in gratitude for his sympathy and interest as shown in the form of securing the necessary funds.

The names of the high officials naturally appear frequently and consistently in the town paper, The Greenbelt Cooperator.[1] Their comments

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[1]The tendency of every organization to associate itself with the name of the community manager grew so strong that the manager had his name appearing three or four times in bold type on its front page. The manager decried this practice, for it suggested that he was controlling the affairs of every organization. He asked the newspaper staff to "play down" his name and those on his staff. The second town manager has followed the same policy.

and opinions on every "community" event are conspicuously published. Their remarks at public gatherings, regardless of content, are applauded. Yet, although these officials and their families live in the town, they are not voluntary and active members of many organizations or even of their neighborhoods. The manager, in talks to his staff, has emphasized that they should perhaps attend the church, but in the next breath suggested that they not become too intimate with their neighbors and not to form too close friendships. The ideal apparently is not to be classed as a "snob," but at the same time, not to fraternize to the point that "favoritism" might be suspected. The result of this policy, on the whole, has been a rather complete social and organizational withdrawal from town affairs on the part of many in the Administrative staff.

On the whole, no one seems to be aware of this lack of participation. If they are, they do not object strenously, except to remark that the officials may be a little "uppity". On those rare occasions when officials do participate in the open, their influence is weighty.[1] To be associated with those in office does lend one status, and some suspect that such association has resulted in material and even personal gain for others.

2. The next status group is not as clearly demarcated as the first.

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1. At one of the Greenbelt Consumer Service (Coop.) meetings, the endorsement of the plurality system of voting rather than the proportional representation system by an official nearly defeated the latter principle, which was thoroughly endorsed at an earlier meeting.

The upper limit of status group 2 is quite apparent, but not its lower limit. Its upper section includes the doctors, the dentist, the mayor, the school principals, the pastor, the priest, the college professors, and some local teachers. This group is highly esteemed in any community,[1] so it is not surprising that it is accorded respect in Greenbelt.[2]

Status group I formed a rather tight "official community," but this is less so for status group 2. The latter receives honor because of its high occupational and educational achievement. Though its members may not know one another well; they are aware of their similarity in status. They receive deference nonchalantly, but with expectation. On the whole, they do not identify themselves psychologically or politically with the town's official family. They maintain an independent but self-satisfied independence.

Whenever any of this professional group participates in organizational activities or showsthe slightest interest, he is almost immediately appointed as a head of an important committee. This means that

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[1] See Anderson and Davidson, Ballots, ... p. 98; Smith, op. cit. See also the results of occupational ranking in part IV.

[2] In an interview of 151 residents, one question concerned ranking of occupations according to prestige. In this abstract problem, the professionals were ranked higher than the "government bureau head." This may indicate that deference may be given to the government official in town more on the basis of their power, than on the basis of prestige of the roles involved.

he will be in line for election to the Board of Directors of other offices. Deference spreads over to the wives of this group. The inclination to appoint the wives to committees and elect them to officerships is evident.

When the town first opened, this group was more disposed to participate actively in town affairs. For example, the doctors of the Health Association held prominent offices, as did members of the staff of the University of Maryland.[1]

With the exdeption of the mayor, this group has merely to carry out its occupational duties to receive recognition from the town. Even this may be unnecessary. A retired college professor of chemistry resides in the town. He is highly respected, especially by the American Legion. Whenever his name is referred to someone invariably mentions, with some awe that, "His room is full of complicated chemistry equipment for experiments."

Although this status group may remain aloof from town affairs, it of course receives extra deference if it participates. The chairmen of open meetings may violate parlimentary procedure, with the silent consent of the members, "to give the 'mayor' or the 'doctor' an opportunity to express their views." Special attention is given to their advice regardless of their competancy of the subject. This fact has

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[1] Incidentally, this group with status group I constituted an economic elite in the early days. They were not subject to the income restrictions.

been responsible for the inability of some organizations to function effectively.[1] The high regard for this group may be correlated to the fact that many Greenbelters aspire their children to become independent or quasi-independent professionals.[2]

The deference forms directed toward this status groups are similar to those given to similar people elsewhere. The titles "Doctor," "mayor," "reverend," "sir," are not omitted in referring or addressing them. Even during the acrimonious debate in the Health Association, (see chapter IX) the doctors were always referred to with their customary titles. Only the doctors called each other by their surnames.

The individual members of status group II do not participate with equal intensity in the town's social and political affairs. For example, the religious and medical elite participate very little. The educational elite; the college professors, the principals, and the teachers have participated more. Although they were accorded more recognition in the "early days," the "intellectuals" are still honored. There is no recorded instance of a defeat of any member of this group who ran for office the first time.[3]

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[1] The Health Association , a cooperative medical group, has had an especially stormy career in Greenbelt. This is in part due to the fact that any doctor can get the support of many of his patients on any problem about which he is concerned. Residents have repeatedly supported the doctors against the judgment of their popularly elected officials. Often these issues have concerned policy, finance, publicity, and other subjects about which the doctors had no special competance or knowledge.

[2] See below, "Occupational Aspirations of and for the Children." Also, "The Prestige of Occupation."

[3] The investigator discovered that he was able to secure access to records with little or no difficulty if he received the endorsement of any one in the educational elite. Otherwise, he was regarded with suspicion.

3: Status-group three is composed of the town's "leaders;" the "managers" and officers of the "community-wide" organizations. They are probably about thirty in number. They include the members of the town council, the head managers of the Co-ops, the editor of The Cooperator, members of the boards of directors of the cooperatives, the presidents of the larger organizations such as the American Legion and the Athletic Association. Most of these have been elected to their present and past posts by the citizens or by the members of the organizations. Some of them are officers of more than one organization. To a large extent, they probably become known to the people by virtue of their past activity in the smaller organizations.

Status group three is not as occupationally homogeneous as the first two strata. Its members are honored, of course, because of their participation in, and direction of, local affairs. Their speech is frequently interspersed with phrases about "the good of the community," "being true to coop principles," "giving the best service to the people," "advancing the best interests of the town," and so on. These phrases appear to form the images that they hope the townspeople have of them.

The type of recognition awarded this stratum is not as conspicious as that given to the higher strata. But enough is accorded to them to provide sufficient "incentive for service." Despite the fact that the leaders claim that their jobs are "thankless" and that they get nothing from them, they are glad to be re-elected. There are always numerous candidates for each office. Election to an office, especially when there have been many candidates, is interpreted as special rec-

cognition from the people. The chief psychological "gains" of this group is of being consulted, and the satisfaction in having a part in influencing the town's "destiny."

On being elected to an office, the typical speaker does not thank those who voted for him, but mentions that he is now aware of their trust and faith in him. He will demonstrate that their trust was not unfounded. For those who are up for reelection, this attitude is more noticeable. They claim honor by virtue of having "served" before. They ask to be reelected as recognition of their experience and integrity. Strangely enough, past issues are seldom referred to in speeches for re-election.

These "leaders" form a rather loose self-conscious group. Its members are aware of themselves as a directing group. One explanation for their mutual acquaintance lies in the fact that they have often participated and have been officers together in smaller organizations. They not only know one another, but their feelings concerning each other are more intense than is the case in other groups.

Cliques tend to develop among the "leaders", especially within the Boards of Directors. Their animosities and partisanships often spread into public meetings. The reasons for these feelings, bitter and otherwise, are not entirely due to personality and ideological similarities or differences with the organizations. The emotions aroused in connection with one organization or issue are frequently transferred to other organizations or issues via overlapping participation and leadership.

There is greater familiarity between the members of this status group III and the townspeople than is the case for the higher status groups. One cannot be too "high hat" if one wants to be reelected. Neither may one be too adamant on what is "good" for the town, or for the organization. Above all, one must keep on participating in the neighborhood level and in the smaller organizations to retain popularity.

Status group III has some contact with the upper two status groups in the town. For example, the councilmen must deal with the high town officials; the members of the Board of Directors of the Health Association must deal with the doctors; the officials of the P.T.A.'s must work with the teachers, and so forth. Status group three appears to enjoy contact with the officials and professionals in the town. Perhaps it seeks to borrow some prestige by associating with higher parties. The contacts between each of the three upper strata groups, however, are usually official, and not of an intimate, personal nature.

Despite its democratic façade, status group three is aware of its honored position. The wives of this and the upper two strata have organized in an association with closure, The Women's Club. One may only become a member of this organization upon invitation, and approval by the membership. No other "community" organization in Greenbelt is so explicitly exclusive.

4: The next lower status group is composed of even more heterogeneous types of people. It includes those individuals who are officers of minor organizations, of special-interest groups, or heads of important

committees of the larger organizations. Their names appear rather frequently in the town paper, as well as their positions; as superintendent of the Sunday School; president of the P.T.A.; officer in the Gun Club, Athletic Club, Women's Club, Red Cross, etc. Those who are the more active members of several of Greenbelt's hundred committees may also be found in this group, as well as some of the town's minor officials and workers.

The minor officials of the town are a part of this status group. They claim prestige by virtue of their association with high officials in the town. The former tend to be popular and well-liked. The minor officers and committee heads claim prestige because of the "service" they give to the "community's" organizations. Their claims are not as clearly satisfied as in the case of the members of the upper status groups. Of course, some are not concerned about recognition, but take a more "personal" satisfaction. They serve unselfishly because of the need for diversion, or because they enjoy it. Others desire higher posts and the recognition that goes with them. For the latter, present duties and positions are considered as temporary, and preparatory to higher duties and greater recognition. In short, they intend to pass into the status group immediately above. The latter, indeed, does recruit most of its members from status group four, although a few have been known to rise into status group three directly without the "apprenticeship of minor service."

The marginal position of the fourth status group is evident in the actions of its members. Like members of other marginal groups,

these petty officers take their work and status very seriously. They labor long and hard at the jobs assigned them. They are visibly active at the larger public meetings, straining, intense, serious. Once given the floor, "the strainers" become verbose; they speak loud and long. Their speeches, apparently extemporaneous, are actually often well-planned and thought-out in advance.

Some have come prepared with notes and quotes from the Encyclopedia Britannica which they read at length. Others quote from speeches given a year or two earlier, or utter cooperative pronunciamentos from memory. The "strainers" are usually remarkably well-informed concerning the activities of the officers and boards of the larger organizations. They become well acquainted with parliamentary procedure and tactics, which they may use to the point of obstructionism. Their favorite expression is, "According to Robert's Rules of Order..." Oddly enough, when elected to higher posts, they often forget to bring Robert's Rules to meetings. Then they regard with impatience those who are constantly worried about the "proper" procedure.

This group makes and seconds many motions, organizing and instigating opposition. It employs any and all tactics that will attract favorable attention to themselves. Their tactics [illegible] are more varied and more daring than those used by other groups.

On the whole, the members of this stratum tend to know one another, but they have not developed as intense attitudes toward one another as has status group three. When the "apprentices" split over issues in the larger organizations, more intense feelings are likely to arise. This happens particularly when some identify themselves with the higher officers, while others wish to unseat them.

Since the Boards of Directors are closer to "problems", they often behave in ways which seem radical or unusual to the members. Those well acquainted with the work and problems of the boards are likely to back them and receive protection in turn. On the other hand, the neophytes and "strainers" are prone to challenge the boards' actions. This has been particularly noticeable in the Health Association, the Cooperatives, and the early Citizens' Associations. Those who back the boards tend to be heads of important committees in the town-wide organizations, while many who oppose the boards are "outsiders" wanting to avoid the "apprentice" period to get into office.

The members of the status groups thus far described are known to most of the town's residents. There are, of course, other individuals who are honored by small particular groups and not by the town as a whole. We shall have to ignore them, for they do not in fact exist for the ordinary resident. People, do, however, rank individuals about whom they have little knowledge. They assign them ranks on categoric basis. These judgments are subject to change, especially when more of their social characteristics become known. This results when people begin to act conspicuously or participate. The status groups described below are those which tend to be more categorically derived.

5: If nothing is known about a person, he tends to be categorized in terms of his occupation, which does not remain a secret for long. A semi-professional or professional person receives more recongition than a manual worker who participates in one or two minor organizations, but nor necessarily more recognition than an officer of a large organization who may be a clerical worker.

Many an "ordinary resident", upon being asked his occupation, furnishes a complicated specialist title. Others give their exact Civil Service Title. Fewer who may have greater objectivity perhaps, or who may be discouraged, reply, "Oh, I'm just a government clerk," implying that they are one of many; no better, no worse. Apparently, job titles with managerial or technical descriptions are envied. Yet most of the workers of the town are, as we have seen, "ordinary" government clerks. They are affiliated with two or more organizations in the town, but receive no special status. Neither are they the object of negative prestige. They conceive their occupations as "respectable," and their participation not "too intensive". Their affiliation is largely motivated by self-interest, as in the Cooperatives; or by enjoyment, as in the Bowling League and Athletic Club.

Occasionally these "middle people" are aroused by a particular issue or crisis in their organizations. They will attend two or three successive meetings of the troubled organizations, "speaking up" if need be. When the crisis is over and the excitement has passed, their participation lags. They return to their usual leisure activities, such as studying, playing, or just "enjoying the family". Another crisis will again attract their participation, only to subside again after a short time.

It is not difficult for status group IV to find reasons why their continued participation is impossible. A typical example of a prevailing attitude was gleaned from a conversation between an officer of the Health Association and one of his fellow workers. The former requested continuous participation of the latter in the Health Association affairs. Replied the latter, "I pay my two bucks a month to

run the Association. You run it. Don't worry, I'll be around when you need me. Until then, don't bother me; I'm busy." As is evident from the quotation, these people may take their "judiciary" function more seriously than their legislative function. However, they do condemn those who are too apathetic to participate when "the very existence of the Organization is threatened."

6: Unless a "manual worker" actively participates in town affairs, his status is regarded as lower than that of the ordinary clerical worker. Since the income differential between these groups is minimal in the town, the status difference is not based on income. The manual workers were in the minority in the "early days" and not very distinguishable from the rest of the population. But with the coming of war, new "defense" homes were built around the edges of the town. They were occupied by a more heterogeneous population consisting of soldiers, sailors, and officers on detached service. Also, "defense," skilled workers, and some white-collar workers moved in. Although "old Greenbelters" would admit abstractly the status equality of the officers and white-collar workers, they murmur with derogatory tones that "a different class of people live in the defense homes. Greenbelt isn't the same since they came."

Despite their heterogeniety, all "defense" people are categorically lumped into one group. The image that "old" Greenbelters have of the "defense" people is the image of the manual laborer. The ecological segregation of the newcomers is associated with an occupational and status inferiority.

Specific "evidence" of their "differences," which, in reality, are very small are exaggerated through gossip. "Oldtimers" point out that the "newcomers" don't like Greenbelt. This is easily understandable, if true, for homes of the defense workers are inferior to those in original Greenbelt. Their facilities are poorer. Furthermore, they have no intention of residing permanently in the town.

The defense workers are also accused of not participating in "community" affairs. This is partially explainable by the fact that they are newcomers. Usually time must pass before people can be absorbed in the organizational structure. Also these people do not know how long they will remain in Greenbelt. As some have said, "There's no sense in getting entangled."

That the newcomers have, as the oldsters complained, caused great inconvenience, is no doubt true.

The complaints have been made that the "new" people are rowdy, demanding, inconsiderate, and destructive." The facilities and services, especially in the stores, have not been expanded in the face of the doubled population. This has meant overcrowding, poorer service, and strained relations in general. The causes for conditions are not impersonalized but attributed to the characteristics of the newcomers. This is usually the case when preparations for "social absorbtion" are not made. The housewives are the first and major creators of epithets concerning the "defense" workers. Disturbed by inconveniences, most housewives neither explore nor attempt to explain the causes.

The older residents are somewhat dismayed to discover that the

"defense" workers demand sectional representation in various organizations. A few of the older idealistic leaders decried this tendency. They denied with considerable fervor the existence of any "divisions" in the town. Said one,

> There is no 'new Greenbelt' or 'Old Greenbelt'; no 'original Greenbelt' or 'defense area'. It is all one. Our problems are common problems. The officers of this organization represent all Greenbelt, not any particular part of it.

This was also the official policy of the Greenbelt Cooperator.

The impressions some of the newcomers create on the older residents in public meetings are not interpreted favorably. In the first place, the newcomers do not participate actively in the general programs, but only rise to utter their complaints and demands for better services.[1] Although the righteousness of their demands are denied by no one, the manner in which they request them is derided. Most of the workers are not as articulate and glib as the "white-collar boys." They lack knowledge of parliamentary laws and tactics. After a number of false starts, they blurt out their complaints in loud fitful phrases, with considerable feeling and heat. The speakers' feelings often betray a mixture of anger and embarrassment, which seems out of place in an otherwise calm assemblage. The audience feels uncomfortable until someone puts the complaint in the form of a motion or resolution. After one such situation a sympathetic woman whispered to a neighbor, "It is

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[1] Complaints concern such things as: necessity for sodding, steps for flood prevention, need for stored to be located more strategically, rerouting of busses, need for smoke control, etc.

too bad the conditions they have to put up with, but why do they have to wear those 'lumberjacks' in public meetings?" The older residents assume attitudes of resignation for the inconveniences caused by the newcomers. However, it is probable that their negative associations with this occupational group will persist for some time, especially if the "defense" workers remain.

The skilled laborers in the "defense" area" are probably more conscious of their identity and general status than the corresponding group in the old section of the town. Even in the latter case, the workers may know one another better for they work only in a few places in Washington; for example in the Navy Yard, the Government Printing Office, whereas the clerks are scattered in many agencies.

7: The next status group consists of the local laborers. They are the men who cut the lawns, collect trash, drive trucks, clean the town, collect papers, and make minor repairs. The maintenance staff of the original Greenbelt consisted of about 90 people. It included the engineer, his assistants, clerks, skilled workers, repairmen, helpers, laborers, and janitors. Most of these workers know each other by name or sight, but the nature of their jobs keeps them rather segregated. That segregation is maintained outside of the work relationship.

These workers are known to many townspeople because they continually work out-of-doors in all parts of the town. A few stop to talk to these workers, but most will "democratically" greet them with a "Hello Jim, how are you?" without waiting for a reply. The housewives seem to know this group better for a few will stop to talk at greater length.

Everyone believes that the town's workers are "very nice". The manager suggested that they were selected, in the beginning at least, "for their neatness, proper deportment, and general good manners."

The average Greenbelter does not stop to consider this group seriously. A possible reason for this may be that the town workers are not considered competitors in any sense of the word. Apart from the fact that this stratum does an "inferior" type of work, it does not strive for the control of organizations or for recognition. The average clerical worker can dismiss them from his mind. He need not react to them very much, either positively or negatively. It is not even necessary to ascribe them peculiar attributes, as with the case of the defense workers, for the town workers do not even have a nuisance value.

This status group (seven) is the only stratum which both lives and works in the town. Although its members still know one another, this was more the case before the war began to break up the personnel. Since the town has grown rapidly, the group has been enlarged, with a consequent decrease in its self-consciousness.

Very early the town manager tried to create a feeling of solidarity and esprit de corps in this group, as he did with the office staff. On occasion he would assemble them and give a "pep" talk. He emphasized the necessity for them to work as a team. He invited them to share any of their troubles with him, whether they concerned their jobs or personal relations. He arranged small parties and gave gifts and sentimental speeches.

This group does not act concertedly in town affairs. If organ-

ized, it could exert a considerable influence. Its members are content to attend a few of the major meetings, but they do not participate actively. In fact, this holds for almost all of the town workers, irrespective of their occupations. At most the members of status group seven envision their duty just "to make an appearance" in their best clothes. They merely sit quietly and listen to the debates. They are afraid to speak in public, but they will vote.

There is no psychological or political connection between this and other "manual" groups in the town. That is, the unskilled and skilled groups are not aware of their possible affiliation. Since the skilled workers tend to be commuters to Washington, there is much contact between them and the local workers. It is probably true that the skilled workers are aware of their economic and occupational superiority to the local workers, but there is no cause for them to dwell on the subject long.

8: There are some Negro workers who do mostly janitorial and similar jobs in Greenbelt. They are not allowed to reside in the town. They are at the bottom of the status hierarchy. They are not greeted by housewives like some of the white service workers. They have the worst jobs, the least pay, and no deference is paid them. They are isolated at work and even at lunch time. In the "early days" a few residents protested that Negroes purchased their victuals in the local stores. The Greenbelt Cooperative and the "liberals" berated this "narrow attitude," and the issue was soon dropped. Interviews with the people of Greenbelt show that Negroes are not wanted as residents in the

town. Even a self-styled "liberal" said, "Negroes wouldn't be happy here. They should have communities just like this, but it would do no one any good to mix them here."

A few "radicals" take the position that the opportunities in Greenbelt should not be restricted to one class or one race, but these are a very small minority. Anti-Negro attitudes are held by many residents, but since the Negroes cannot participate in local affairs, there is no need to express anti-Negroism.

9: The position of the Jews in Greenbelt demands special attention. The religious composition of the town at first was controlled by selection. With the later abandonment of this procedure, the proportion of Jews and Catholics tended to rise slowly. The Jewish people quite early formed their religious circle, as did the other religious groups. From the beginning they participated heavily in many of the town's activities, especially in the groups that had ideological objectives. The town manager admitted that Jews provided and continue to provide a greater proportion of community leaders than their numbers warrant. Whether the town as a whole was at first aware of the Jewish people as a group, and reacted to them as such, is rather doubtful.

The Hebrew Congregation helped increase the self-awareness of the group,[1] but did not provide the main cementing force. In 1942, the secretary of the organization admitted that out of the eighty Hebrew families in Greenbelt, only thirty were active, paying members.

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[1] The Mormons are perhaps the group in Greenbelt that have even a higher amount of religious and "social" self-awareness.

Only one-half of these participated actively and regularly in the Congregation. The Jews met one another largely through organizational participation, and continued their association through friendship patterns. As elsewhere, the Jewish group is somewhat split in its political ideas, and in its attitudes toward the faith.

However, the Congregation still makes an effort to incorporate new residents. But other "Jewish" associations that have more of a "social" emphasis, attract more participants. Some of them have been B'rnai B'rith, Russian War Relief, Mah Jong Club, Hiking Club, Discussion Group, and others.

Greenbelters are a heterogeneous lot, representing different sections of the country[1]. To some, the Jewish people were accepted as just another religious group. Of course, certain individuals, already maligned with a high degree of anti-semitism, continued to observe their prejudices in Greenbelt. Despite this, several of those of the Hebraic faith were elected to high offices. Several reasons may account for this. First, was the general need for organizers in the many newly created associations. Secondly, an organizational structure did not already exist that could operate in a closure fashion against any group. Third, the Jewish people were split along interest and ideological lines in much the same fashion as were other groups.

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[1] Some rural westerns, newly arrived in the east, admitted that they did not know what Jewish people "really were." They had not had much previous contact with the group, nor had they thought much about them.

As time elapsed, some manifestations of anti-semitism became evident. Through work and community associations, awareness of group crystallized in the minds of some.

It is interesting to note the incipient form of anti-semitism among some of rural western origin. On hearing repeated references to a person being a Jew, they became curious of their "earmarks." Some would ask, "How can you know he is a Jew?" "Is so and so a Jew?" Others would retrospectively cogitate "I'll bet so and so is a Jew at home," or "I never knew he was a Jew!" Pure intellectual curiousity about the group slowly turned into anti-semitism. Some concluded that eastern Jews (most of those in Greenbelt come from New York City) are in some way "worse" than the western variety!

As competition for offices became more acute, the factor of religious affiliation introjected itself into campaigns. Some religions accused others of "monopolizing positions," of "sticking together." The Jews have been accused of conspiring to monpolize offices, particularly by the Catholics. Both the Jews and the Protestants have accused the Catholics of "running the town." No group singles out the protestants in this respect, oddly enough. Such accusations, although they do have small basis in fact, do not become public issues, but are subjects of private conversations. A few who have noticed the tendency

of religious solidarity have decried it and have tried to abate it.[1] They have not been altogether successful.

The status position of the person of Hebraic faith, if no other characteristics are known about him, is below status group three. Certainly, his religion is not conducive to status elevation among non-Hebrews, regardless of his other attributes. Yet it is not a decisive factor in defeating him for most offices.[2] His status is slightly lower than it would be for others with corresponding characteristics.

For example, a Jewish physician's status is high, but it would be higher if he were a gentile. Only a very few Greenbelters will "admit" any prejudice against Jews. These, like most, speak more "liberally" than they act. But some will add, "They're a better lot in Greenbelt, you know," or "He is superior to most of them", or "Yes, he's all right..."

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1 The newspaper editors have a phobia of cleavages of any type arising in the town. Said one of his Jewish friend running for office, "Organization makes for counter-organization. That game will always work to the disadvantage of your group, you know." One tactless Yorkshireman, solicited by a Jew to vote for him, said, "Sure man, but only if you haven't gotten your whole crowd behind you."

2 Whether or not significant, no person of the Hebrew faith has been elected to the town council, although they have held high offices in other organizations.

10: A Statistical Approach to the Problem of Affiliation and Status

A terminological distinction must be made between affiliation and participation. Logically those people who are on record as members of an organization, but who do not attend meetings, or take part in organizational activities, are not participators. They are merely affiliated. It is quite difficult however, to distinguish affiliation from participation on statistically realistic grounds in Greenbelt. We have mentioned above that active participation on the part of the "average" person is intermittant. That is, in "crises," participation of all the affiliated runs quite high. This makes it difficult to draw the line between affiliation and participation in Greenbelt. We shall have to be content with affiliation data in our analysis.

It is perhaps true, that the larger number of affiliations a person has, the greater the probability that he participates. This is not invariably true, however, especially if a person is an officer of one organization and affiliated to no other organization. However, if a person is an officer, we can be sure that he participates somewhat.

For the year 1942, we accumulated all affiliational data for all adult Greenbelters. That is, we secured the membership rolls and the list of officers for every organization then in existence, except the churches. It was almost impossible to secure data on the latter.

Apart from distinguishing sociologically those who varied in their amount of participation, we also wanted to see whether the leaders differed from non-leaders. Since leadership is largely a status phenomenon in Greenbelt, we wanted to find at the same time

the principles of status evaluation and leadership in Greenbelt. A study of the social characteristics of the leaders would give this since leadership in Greenbelt is primarily a status phenomenon rather than a power one. These "principles" could be uncovered only if the status structure had tendencies to become crystallized and set. In a homogeneous community, where the circulation of leaders goes on at a rapid rate, and where the social structure is not yet solidified, the probability of finding differences in the characteristics of leaders and non-leaders would tend to be smaller. What is the situation in Greenbelt?

There has been much discussion about the point that suburbanization and creation of garden cities tends to increase organizational activities of citizens.[1] Let us examine whether social differences appear among Greenbelters who vary in the number of organizations to which they are affiliated.

In Greenbelt everyone belongs to the Citizen's Association by virtue of living in the town. Since membership in it is not voluntary, we did not count it as an affiliation. Our data covers all memberships of formal organizations during the year 1942. It excludes membership of churches, informal groups such as recreational ones, and children's groups, excepting their adult leaders. It also does not

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[1] See Hudson, op. cit., O.K. Fulmer, Greenbelt (Washington: American Institute on Public Affairs, no date.)

contain the activities that Greenbelters participate in Washington, such as labor unions, fraternal associations, education classes, etc. The data below does not reflect the total organizational life of Greenbelters. They do provide a rather good indication of the amount of affiliation in the town, however. If anything, they underestimate the amount of participation. Excluding education, which is at times, secured in the Capitol, most of the participation occurs in Greenbelt.[1]

Table XIX indicates that over seventy per cent of the heads of families in Greenbelt are affiliated with at least one organization.[2] About twenty-eight per cent belong to one organization, while forty-five per cent belong to two or more organizations. Only about thirteen per cent belong to three or more organizations. The vaunted high level of participation of organizations of planned towns may be exaggerated, but when Greenbelt is compared to nearby suburbs, it has a plethora of organizations and its people participate more actively.

The number of affiliations of the wives of the heads of families, is very similar in its distribution to that of the male heads. The results of this thorough tally of affiliations substantially agree with

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[1] See Appendix for data on affiliation in Washington, D. C.

[2] Only those people were included who were in Greenbelt when we made schedules for them in June, 1942. Those who moved into Greenbelt since, were necessarily ignored.

those obtained in a questionnaire sent out in the summer of 1942.[1]

TABLE XIX

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATIONS OF THE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF FAMILIES OF GREENBELT, MARYLAND, 1942

Number of Affiliations	Percentage of Heads of Families	Percentage of Female Heads of Families
0	28.2	30.0
1	27.8	23.9
2	18.3	20.9
3	13.0	14.8
4	8.1	7.6
5/	4.6	2.7
Total	100.0	99.9
	X=1.6	X=1.6

Now let us try to find out whether people who differ in the number of affiliations, differ in other social characteristics. The factors about which we had information that might have affected participation were income, occupation, religion, age of family heads, size of family, and education of family heads. For income and occupation, we had data as of date of entry and on June, 1943. Let us see whether these factors had any bearing as to number of organizations to which people belonged.

Table XX presents the mean number of affiliation in 1942 by occupations as of date of entry, and as of June, 1943. The mean number of participations for all Greenbelt heads of families was 1942

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[1] See Appendix, TABLE

TABLE XX

MEAN NUMBER OF AFFILIATIONS OF GREENBELT HEADS OF FAMILIES

AT TWO STATED INTERVALS

Occupation	Mean Number of Affiliations As of 1942 by Occupation as of Entry	Mean Number of Affiliations As of 1942 by Occupation of 1943
Proprietors, Managers, and Officials	1.5	2.2
Professional & semi-professional	1.8	2.3
Technicians	1.4	2.0
Clerks, unspecified	1.6	2.3
"Lower" clerks	1.3	1.8
"Higher" clerks	1.7	2.2
Skilled workers	1.8	2.1
Semi-skilled	1.2	2.1
Unskilled and service	1.6	1.6
Total	1.6	2.1

a. Includes messengers, file clerks, stock clerks, typists, office machine operators, secretaries, stenographers, etc.

b. Includes accountants, auditors, statistical clerks, clerk supervisors, and others.

about 1.6. The variations by occupations are very small. The professional and semi-professional workers, along with the skilled workers participated most, but not much more than clerical workers. The affiliational differences among the occupations are not significant, excepting for the semi-skilled workers, who affiliated less than those in other occupations.

In June, 1943, five hundred of the original 800 families were in Greenbelt. Again using the affiliations in 1942, we find that the mean number of affiliations of this group was 2.1. Those who remained in Greenbelt apparently were heavier participaters than those who had moved. This is to be expected. Since considerable occupational mobility occurred since date of entry, we wanted to find out whether those who experienced most mobility upward, tended to be those who had interest in community organizations.

As of 1943 occupations, we find that again those in professional occupations had the largest mean affiliations. Those who had become administrators and sub-officials had the next highest mean affiliation. The clerical workers followed closely, and manual workers were not far behind. The managers in 1943 were composed largely of the "higher" clerks of 1942. But none of the differences appear very significant.

Table XXI shows the "correlation" between affiliation and income. From it we note that there is a slight positive correlation between affiliation and income. This holds both for date of entry and June, 1943. It also continues to be the case for the wives. That is, the women whose husbands made greater salaries tended to affiliate themselves more. One should expect this, since we showed above that the affiliation profiles of husbands and wives were very similar.

TABLE XXI

NUMBER OF AFFILIATIONS BY MEDIUM ANNUAL INCOME OF GREENBELT HEADS OF FAMILIES

No. of Affiliations	Heads of families, as of entry	Females(wives etc.); Income of husbands, as of entry	Income of Male Heads, June 1943
0	$1494	$1513	$2376
1	1520	1532	2496
2	1550	1541	2556
3	1626	1557	2765
4	1600	1682	2684
5-	1590	1650	2700

How may we account for this? The hypothesis that it might be due to age of the head of family is untenable. Although there is a positive relation between the age of the head of family and the number of affiliations,[1] the correlation between age and income is insignificant, being ±0.1.

The possibility that affiliations might be related to the amount of education of the heads of families is not borne out. This is odd in view of the fact that education and income are positively correlated. The rank correlation of income and education by occupation was ±.618 P.E. ±.145.[2] The correlation between affiliation and education is nil.

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[1] The median age of the heads of families in no organizations was 30.7 years; for those in one organization, 32 years; two organizations, 33.5; three, 33.6; four 34.0; and five or more affiliations, 36.6 years. The positive correlation between size of family and number of affiliations support this.

[2] For those who were affiliated to no organizations, the median school year completed was 12.6 years; for those in one organization, 12.6 years; two, 12.7; three, 12.8; four, 12.4; and five or more, 12.8 years.

It appears that differences in religious affiliation do not account for variation in participation. Those of Hebrew faith appear to have the highest mean number of affiliation. They are followed so closely ~~so~~ by the protestant and Catholics, that the differences might be well due to chance.[1]

The end result of this probing to find ~~the~~ same factors of a social nature that might be related to affiliation was, on the whole, negative. The signs all point to the fact that the older residents were affiliated with more organizations. We know, for example, that a positive relation exists between the size of family and age of head of family. At the same time, the number of affiliations are larger for those who are older. Also those who have been in Greenbelt longer are inclined to have higher salaries than the newcomers. The latter were allowed to enter the town because their incomes did not exceed a set limit. Once in Greenbelt incomes could raise. That they in general did rise is demonstrated in Chapter V.

The recruits into Greenbelt tend to be younger people. The reasons for this is plain. Families with children already living in Greenbelt, have priority over "outsiders" for rental of the larger houses. This means that the proportionate number of dwelling units available for

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[1] In view of the fact that the Jewish families were smaller than those of other faiths, and the heads of families younger, it is probable that the number of affiliations of this group is significantly larger. The statistics relevant here are as follows. The Hebrews and the unaffiliated had 1.8 mean number of affiliations; the protestants had 1.6; the Catholics, 1.4; and the Mormons, 1.0.

occupancy tend to be larger than for the smaller units. Since housing standards may not be violated, smaller families have greater chances of being recruited to live in the town. These tend, of course, to be younger couples without children.

As the families grow larger, there are more organizations to join, especially those that relate to the welfare of the children; as the two Parent-Teachers Associations, the Nursery School Board, the Parent's Board of the Band, becoming scout masters, and so forth. With the appearance of children, membership in the Health Association is more of a necessity and a saving. In the meantime, there are other organizations of a "community-wide" nature that appeal to all age groups, as the coopera-tives.

These negative results should have been anticipated. In the first place, the population was so homogeneous that large differences should not have been expected. Apart from length of residence, probably per-sonality and interests could account for some of the differences observed. But the most important factor here appears to be length of residence in Greenbelt. Time is essential for social absorbtion.

The problem of distinguishing leaders from other types of authority is not difficult in Greenbelt. In Greenbelt, a leader is one who has been, but more important, one who <u>is</u> in office.[1]

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[1] Some past leaders lament that people don't even stop and talk to them any more. Said a liberal "has been:" "No matter how much you've done for them in the past, the minute you stop working, you're forgotten."

The longer he has been in office, and the more organizations in which he has been an officer, the more he is regarded as a "community leader."

The reasons why officers may be regarded as leaders in Greenbelt are fairly obvious. In the first place, the officers are elected in popular assembly. It is at election meetings that the greatest attendance is had. This means, of course, that officers tend to be chosen not by a few active members, but by large numbers of people. The ample number of candidates for office and the large turnover in officers of organizations also indicates that the role of popular voting is primary.

Another reason why officers are likely to be leaders is that Greenbelt is very young. Not much time has passed to be able to work out a stable selective process of leadership. That is, "traditional leadership" has not had time to evolve firmly. The "man behind the scenes" is a rare phenomenon in Greenbelt. Although it is possible for people not to hold office and yet have much influence, this is rare in Greenbelt. A few cases of this have been noted, but most individuals who have influence also have office. In fact, office is the status mark of influence. Only some of the town officials have some influence but no office in the citizen organizations. We are aware of these people.

The third factor is the amount of resident turnover in Greenbelt. Leaders, in the sociological sense, have been drained away by advances in pay and occupation, decentralization of government bureaus, drafting of men for the armed service, and other reasons. This has meant that the leaders tend to be recruited rather freely.

The problem here is to determine whether the social characteristics of officers differed from those of the members. We arbitrarily selected

the chief officers of the organizations to compare with the adult population. In most cases the president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer were chosen as the officers for study. Included also were the members of the town council, the editors of The Cooperator, the members of the boards of directors, the Scout masters and leaders, and others. Both male and female heads of families were included if they were officers. Committee members and heads of committees were not counted as officers.

One hundred and fifteen people were then selected as officers, and their characteristics were compared with the general population for the available indices. The officers constituted about eight percent of the male and female heads of families. The indices we used to compare the officers and the general population were of the same general nature as those used to compare affiliations. No claim is made here that they are more sensitive than other possible criteria. They are basic enough, however, to have some differentiating possibilities.

In view of the fact that affiliation was based primarily on age and length of residence in Greenbelt, we might inquire whether the chances of becoming an officer also depended on these factors. The evidence here is negative. The median age of officers was 32.7 years, as contrasted to 34.8 years for the general population, as of January 1, 1943. The officers were slightly over two years younger than the male heads of families. The inclusion of a few female officers is mostly responsible for the lower age of the officers in general. On the whole, the officers averaged the same age as their parent population.

As one would be led to suspect, the number of organizations in which officers were members, were considerably larger than that of the population as a whole. Officers belonged to 3.7 organizations on the average, as compared to 1.6 for the general population. The mates of officers also participated more heavily than the general population.

In line with the trend on affiliations, the size of families of officers were slightly larger than for that of the population as a whole, 3.4 compared to 3.0. More significant than this factor was that of income. The income for the date of entry did not differ significantly for officer and non-officer; being $1,583 and $1,535 respectively. However, when the incomes of the two groups are compared for June 1943, a significant difference arises. For the officers, the median income was $2,755 and for the total population, $2,655.

This difference may be reflected in occupational differences between the two groups. Treating the working population of Greenbelt as the universe and the officers as a sample of it, we ran a chi-square test for goodness of fit of occupations for two periods; date of entry and June 1943. The results of these are illuminating. As of date of entry, the P of the χ^2 was exactly 0.50; which shows that the officers were not significantly different than the parent population. However, the P of the x^2 of the occupational distributions as of 1943, turned out to be+0.01. The differences here are significant.

Inspecting the actual occupational distributions of the two groups at the latter date showed these differences. The officers were represented in significantly larger proportions of their totals as proprietors, managers, and officials. Most of these were in the administrative and sub-administrative posts in the federal government. The officers also had

higher proportions in the professions and the semi-professions, as well as in the higher clerical jobs. They were underrepresented in the manual jobs, technicians, and ordinary clerks. We may interpret these occupational comparisons as indicating that the officers were those who showed greater chances of climbing occupationally.

Comparing the fathers' occupations of officers and non-officers, we find that the officers had greater proportions whose fathers were professional people and managers and officials. They had significantly smaller proportions who were clerical workers, and a slightly smaller proportion of manual workers.[1]

There is also a difference in the religious distribution of officers and general members. In the first place, the officers all claim religious affiliation, whereas six per cent of the total population denies any affiliation.

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[1] Here are crude occupational data for fathers of officers and fathers of the general population:

Occupation	Officers	General Population
Prop., mgr., etc.	38.9%	16.6%
Clerical	3.7	13.3
Manual workers	35.2	38.6
Total	100.0	100.0

The protestant and the Jews appear overrepresented in the officers, and the Catholics underrepresented.[1] It is difficult to account for these differences, except perhaps that the protestants and the Jews may have had more experience in secondary group participation.

11: Summary

The status structure of Greenbelt tends to be multi-lateral in nature. The fact that the town is not a community in the sociological sense, is probably the factor most responsible for this. Greenbelters live and compete in two status worlds, one in Washington and one in Greenbelt.[2] In Washington, status is determined more categorically than in Greenbelt. It is based largely on income, occupation, bureaucratic position, ethnic origin, and race.

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[1] Here are data on religious affiliation of officers and general population:

Religions	Officers	Total
Protestant	69.4%	62.8%
Catholic	17.6	20.9
Hebrew	13.0	10.3
None	.0	6.0
Total	100.0	100.0

[2] Interview result below indicated that one third of the people had closest friends in Washington, rather than Greenbelt.

In Greenbelt itself, perhaps one-third of the people are unaware of many features of the status structure.[1] This results from the fact that they participate in no way in any of the town's activities. Their only contact with the town is reading The Cooperator, or purchasing items in the coop stores. But some are known to do neither of these.

Of those who are aware of how the town operates, and those who participate, the structure runs somewhat as follows: Status group one is composed of the highest federal officials, who are, of course, a political as well as an economic elite in the town. This group, although it does not participate in local citizen affairs, is ~~not~~ respected and consulted. Status group two is composed of the higher professionals who render service to the town. It includes the doctors, the teachers, and a few of the participating "intellectuals." The motive behind deference for the latter is largely respect for educational achievement and the rendering of professional service.

Status group three contains the elected officials and "leaders" of the larger town organizations. The basis for deference here, of course, is participation and service. However, it is possible for persons to become negatively privileged if they do not "serve" as the townspeople think they should.

Status group four is made up of members of the more important committees in the town. This group is the most active politically, since

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[1] This is a partial inference from the fact that twenty-eight per cent of the families were affiliated to no organizations in Greenbelt.

it seeks to "crash" into the stratum above. Circulation between groups three and four is greater than between any other strata. Personal feelings between these two groups are also the most intense. This is possible because both strata tend to be more self-aware of themselves than are others.

Status group five is composed of the "ordinary" citizen who is affiliated in one or two organizations. He usually does not participate intensively as long as affairs are running smoothly. As "crises" hit his organizations, his participation increases. He interprets his role as judiciary in character, and derides those who are entirely apathetic.

Manual workers, unless they participate actively in town affairs, tend to have lower status. This was not always the case, however. When "defense" homes were built in Greenbelt, they were inhabited by skilled workers who were not as "carefully" selected as were the original residents. Since their entry caused some inconvenience, some "oldsters" were inclined to berate them. The fact that the "defense" workers showed some differences in their style of living -- speech, dress, entertainment, was interpreted by some as indicative of their cultural inferiority. This group is the object of more animosity than any other.

The lowest status groups are the local town laborers and the Negro laborers. Neither participates much in town affairs. The former feels it cannot compete and, therefore, offers no competition. Because of this they tend to be disregarded. The Negroes are not only disregarded but isolated.

The position of the Jews in the minds of many is ambivalent and unsettled. Although there are evidences of anti-semitism, several of those of the Hebraic faith have been and are town leaders. This group

tends to be judged according to criteria mentioned above, but with the ethnic factors tending to lower their estimation on any level.

Status, in a town like Greenbelt, was found to be expressed largely in terms of participation in organizations. We endeavored to locate the social characteristics most closely associated with participation, to provide a notion of the possible "principles" underlying the status structure. This probing, although largely negative in its results, tends to indicate that length of residence in Greenbelt, age, and size of family are the most important indices of affiliation. The absence of tradition and large differences in class and other factors, tended to produce a rather flat status (affilitional) structure.

The study of the social characteristics of leaders might provide a better key to the principles behind the status structure in the "community." We found that the officers as a group did not differ significantly from the general population as of the date of entry into Greenbelt. However, it did appear that they were more "ambitious" than others, both in tne jobs and in Greenbelt organizations. This is shown by their faster occupational and income rise, as well as their greater participation in Greenbelt. There are small but inconclusive indications that the group had a slightly better background than the general population; and that is, their fathers were a little higher in the occupational scale and they provided their sons with slightly better education.

Although the general results of our attempt to find the bases of status, or the principles which people use to judge others were not striking, we feel that the general approach was superior to the methodologies most frequently used. The latter speculate too much concerning the reasons

why people honor others. A better procedure might be to build up, with statistical techniques, several abstract modal status types that embrace the factors upon which deference might be bestowed. The ranking of these types, by samples in all strata, would not only outline the status structure of a community, but more important, suggest more objectively the principles along which status is structured.

With the same technique it would be possible to arrive at the self-estimation of status of persons by including among the status-types a description of the ranker. This procedure would be economical and remove the pure subjective aspects in asking people to rank others as persons.

PART III

ORGANIZATIONS OF GREENBELT

CHAPTER VIII

TOWN COUNCIL AND THE CITIZEN'S ASSOCIATION

No understanding of the local life of Greenbelt may be had without an appraisal of the two town-wide organizations, the town council and the Citizens' Association.

1: The Town Council

(a) Early Problems. The first town council felt that its main duty was to implement the ideals envisioned by the planners of the town. The way the town was to govern itself was roughly planned and decided before its opening. The council's main task was to carry out the details necessary to administer the policies of the landlord. Most of the people had tacitly accepted these policies as being "good," before moving into Greenbelt.[1] Anything that the landlord may have done previously to the opening of the town was largely accepted by the councils as "given and good."

Since the town was young, the council had no precedents on which to lean. However, Farm Security was ready to provide the council and the

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[1] The personal interview of the applicants for residence in Greenbelt acquainted thems with the ideals of the town planners. The interviewers were to guage whether the applicants were favorably disposed to live in a town thus conceived.

town material and organizational assistance. The fact that the community manager was also the town manager provided some continuity and direction to the early operation and administration of Greenbelt.

Only a month after the town was opened, on November 23, 1937, the councilmen's election was held in accord with the requirements of the charter. There were thirteen candidates for the five council posts. Two-hundred and ninety-two persons were eligible to vote, and almost all of them voted. Such great interest in local affairs was not to be attained again.[1] The number of votes each candidate received were so close to one another that it was necessary to have both a run-off and a regular election.

Before election day, the candidates for office, that is, those who had petitioned the requisite number of signatures, were introduced to the citizens before the newly formed Citizens' Association. There they delivered brief biographical sketches of themselves and what their policies would be. They spoke for only three minutes. The chairman allowed citizens to ask each candidate any "legitimate" question concerning his policies and beliefs. This "tradition" was followed in future elections.

The charter provided that the mayor was to be chosen by a majority of the council. The Citizens' Association petitioned that the candidate

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[1] For example, in the 1943 local election, only two-hundred voters registered, out of at least fifteen-hundred people who were eligible to register and vote.

with the largest number of votes be selected mayor, but the council did not heed this advice. Several secret ballots were required, for it seemed that everyone wanted to be mayor. Finally Mr. B, a clerk, thirty-seven years old, described by some as a "conciliatory idealist," was chosen.

The first council was in many respects similar to subsequent councils. It represented the cooperatives[1] for the manager of Greenbelt Consumer Services (GCS) was on the council. Two members of the American Legion were also elected[2] as well as a young archivist, interested in the cooperative movement. One of the first acts of the council was to select the community manager as town manager.

This first council admitted it was "amateurish." It was not sure of its powers and limitations. It felt its way slowly, not wishing to assume too much power nor to default in its duties. The Farm Security Administration through the community manager, suggested that the council pass certain ordinances, as for example, prohibiting dogs in the town. The council, however, refused to do this. It stated that this usually was a landlord function. All it would do was to reflect the opinions of the

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[1] We shall refer to the stores and services run by Greenbelt Consumer Service Incorporated, as the "Coops," while other cooperatives will be specifically named.

[2] The American Legion organized immediately after the town was opened. Its first meeting was held in the community manager's office, who was a legionnaire himself. This organization is perhaps the most stable and tightly-knit organization in the town.

citizens on the subject. A referendum held on the issue revealed that the majority was against allowing pets in the town.

The stated powers of the council are as broad as those assumed by most municipal legislatures. The federal government gave it the right to tax.[1] This taxation is based on the assessment of the properties of the federal government as calculated by local county and state assessors. The latter evaluated the property very low, three and one-half million dollars.[2] The funds in lieu of taxes fluctuated between $80,000 and $100,000 a year. These were used by the town council to operate town services. Since there were some pieces of property privately owned within the town limits, the question arose whether the council could tax these. The result of a long legal conflict, proved that it could not.[3]

Soon after, the council tested its right to levy a personal property tax. Although it found it had a legal right to tax furniture, automobiles, and so forth, it experienced difficulty in actually collecting. A garbage tax, levied to secure small funds, and to demonstrate the council's autonomous power to tax, was not well received by the citizens. Again it was almost impossible to collect. After these early experiences, the council did not attempt to deal directly with taxation.

The council also has the power to borrow money, which it has

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[1] See Chapter II, History of Greenbelt.

[2] The cost of building Greenbelt was at least three times this sum.

[3] This conflict is summarized below, p.

exercised on several occasions when the federal funds were not forthcoming in time to meet the obligations. The council may also float a a bond-issue up to ten per cent of the property valuation, but it may only do so if a referendum of the citizens permits this. To date, the council has not tried to float a bond issue.

The town council is also empowered to operate a transportation system. Although transportation has always been a "problem" in Greenbelt, the council has never satisfactorily met it. Inadequate financial resources, plus the constant conflicts with the Capital Transit Company, has delayed action.

In one important aspect the council has found its power curtailed. This is in the matter of the budget. Legally, the council can do anything it wishes with the money at its disposal. But the arrangement with the federal agency specifies that any surplus must be diverted to the Government at the close of the fiscal year. On one occasion when money was returned to the Government, the budget for the following year was reduced by the amount returned. After this the council spent all its money to avoid yielding some of it to the Government. The council permanently solved its "surplus" problem by creating an "equipment" fund.

A second budgetary limitation results from the fact that the budget has to be approved and accepted by the supervising authority every year. By refusing to approve of the budget, the Agency can exert a veto function over certain items that it may disapprove. That it has done on at least one occasion. Thus the powers of the council are rather "circumstantial." Theoretically it has the powers of any municipal legislative body, but its

policy must be somewnat in harmony with that of the federal government. Only by trial and error does it define the perimeter of its actual powers.

The council is not totally ignorant of the Agency's policies, for the town-community manager can and does let the council know whether its actions will be favorably received by the Government. On the whole, the councilmen have felt that the Government has so much to offer them, and they have so little to bargain with, that it would be foolish to test their powers through court decisions. They also feel that the Government spent money to build Greenbelt in order to test some of its ideas. The council should "cooperate" as much as possible to see that the "experiment" works.

The town charter itself represented the result of a political battle between the federal, state, and county governments. Many have regretted that the relations of Greenbelt and the state of Maryland are not as amicable as they should be. The historic causes of this are as follows: After the charter was written by the future community manager and the officials of the FSA, it was presented to a group of hand-picked legislators to put through the legislature at Annapolis. At the same time, another bill was introduced to transfer Greenbelt to a State Housing Aurthority according to the plans of the federal government.[1] The purpose of the latter was to keep Greenbelt out of local and federal politics.

Some of the representatives of the legislature from Prince George's county proceeded to "alter" the second bill. It was rumored that they were dissatisfied with the way the Government had handled the purchasing of the land that was to make up Greenbelt. They desired to put Greenbelt

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[1] See Chapter II for the suggested composition of officials of the Authority.

under a local authority more subject to county jurisdiction. Both the bill or incorporation and the "altered" bill transferring Greenbelt to a local Housing Authority were passed. Although the Republican governor signed the first, he vetoed the second. Federal officials were unwilling to have Greenbelt under local control. They pressed the governor to veto the second bill.

The local Maryland officials were enraged, and their attitude was reflected in subsequent Maryland-Greenbelt relations. For some time the town was ignored in county affairs and appropriations. The legislature was supposed to buy Greenbelt land from the federal government, but it never did. It did, however, redefine the boundaries of the town. The strained relations between the federal and state governments are said to be responsible for the fact that the state refused to give the Greenbelt council the right to tax private real estate.[1] The few private pieces of private property in Greenbelt pay taxes directly to the county and the state.

The town manager always decried the fact that Greenbelters did not participate in county affairs. But since he feared the intrusion of county politics in the town, he tended to discourage certain county relations. The town charter aided him in this; it specified that local elections had

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[1] The Greenbelt council had evolved a "rural-urban" plan of taxation to secure the right to tax the farm lands within Greenbelt limits. It felt that farmers were benefiting from Greenbelt services, but were not contributing to their support.

to be non-partisan. It is almost impossible to expect local interest and participation in the county if the county is not allowed to participate in the town affairs. In the "early days" of Greenbelt there was a local Democratic party, but it soon collapsed. The official aim of keeping outside partisan politics out of the town has succeeded. Under such circumstances, Greenbelt could not become part of the "political culture" outside its boundaries.

It is noteworthy that no Greenbelter has actively engaged in county and state politics; this despite the fact that at one time one-third of the heads of families were Maryland citizens. In no instance did the manager encourage anyone to participate as a federal official. He tended to monopolize all the contacts with the county and state offices. There was little room left for other types of relations. This is so because many non-Greenbelters did not and do not distinguish his federal and local offices.

(b) The Council, the Cooperatives, and the Government. (1) The town government, the federal Agency, and the cooperatives are related in a number of ways. Farm Security was responsible for the introduction of cooperatives in the town, and it always has been favorably disposed toward them. Since the cooperatives rent Government property, its profits are somewhat affected by the tenant-landlord relationship. The rent that Government receives from the stores is set on a "percentage of sales" basis, ten per cent for food store, fifteen per cent for drug store, five per cent for candy store, twenty per cent for the theatre, and so forth.

Of course, the cooperatives deal with the Government through the intermediary of the community-manager. His attitude is very important in giving federal officials a picture of the conditions and operations

of all the cooperative schemes. The inability of some local citizens to distinguish the "attitude of the Government" from that of the community manager has led to misunderstandings. This will be demonstrated below.

The interrelationship of the council, Agency, and the coops is most visible in the case of the Health Association.[1] The town has a public health officer who supervises the health program of the schools, the immunization program, the prenatal clinic, and the visiting nurse. For this part-time work a doctor receives around $1200 a year. Ever since Greenbelt opened, it was the custom to give this job to one of the doctors of the Health Association. Almost no other course was possible, for the Association provided the only resident medical services in the town, since the town was not large enough to support a public health officer. As a result, it was possible for the Association to offer an incoming doctor a rather good salary, for this stipend was additional to that provided by the Association. Since a doctor had to serve in a dual capacity, it was necessary for both the town manager and the board of directors of the Health Association to approve of him. At times, it was difficult for them to agree on their choices. The town manager had to work with his council, but he did not feel this compulsion in the case of the citizen boards.

(2) The Health Association and the Administration have conflicted over two major issues. The first involved the very existence of the

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[1] See Chapter 9 for the organization and history of the Greenbelt Health Association.

the organization itself. The town manager indicated his preference for a highly developed and extended Public Health Program. He achieved partial success toward this goal by absorbing the immunization services of the Association in the public health program. But he wanted pediatrics care as a central feature of his health plans. If this were realized, a quasi-socialized medicine program would have been in competition with the prepaid medical plan of the Health cooperative. Some maintained that the manager did not appreciate the "revolutionary" ideological implication of this program, for on the whole, he was "socially conservative."[1] Some maintained he desired this program because he could control it, whereas it was difficult to manipulate a citizen group.

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[1] The problem of defining a "liberal" and a "conservative" in Greenbelt is not very difficult. For the most part, people who call themselves "liberals" show these attributes: (1) They believe in cooperatives as a movement and ideology, (2) They are against big-business monopolies and want governmental control of them, (3) They are pro-labor and believe in trade unionism, (4) They believe that the government should actively promote the betterment of the "common man," (5) They believe in evolutionary change, (6) They point to the philosophy of Henry Wallace as approximating their own.

The "conservatives" are not as much aware of their own ideological position. If necessary, they identify themselves as "realists," as "hard-headed," as having "common-sense" They believe (1) that cooperatives may be all right for Greenbelt, but not for the nation (2) They believe in competition and free enterprise as the basis of the "American way" (3) They do not want to see rapid, radical change. (4) They believe in moderation in all things.

A list of the names of 100 people active in Greenbelt was presented to three self-styled liberals" and two "realists." The subjects were asked to place a + before the names of persons whom, they felt, shared their general political and social beliefs, a-before those who differed with them, and a zero for "don't know." Although not enough subjects were used, the general results were striking. The "liberals" disagreed on three cases, whereas the "conservatives" disagreed on five. Only seven persons were "claimed" by both groups. These were mostly town officials. The "liberals were not sure of eleven cases whereas the conservatives" did not know how to classify twenty three. See Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1936), Chapter 4, for ideological descriptions of the "liberal-humanitarian idea," and the conservative idea."

Charges of "paternalism" were hurled by some members of the Health group to this proposal, while others favored the program. The manager did not realize his scheme.

It is quite obvious that if the Public Health program had been enacted, the health cooperative could not have survived. We have indicated that the very young ages of the heads of families in Greenbelt (mean age in 1938, twenty-nine years) was responsible for a birth rate (crude) that was twice the national average.[1] Thus pediatrics was the very center of the services provided by the Health Association. It was one of the main attractions or advantages in joining the Association, for cost for this type of care was relatively low. This conflict, which subsided after the first four years, led many to distrust the manager's attitude toward the Health Association, and the cooperatives in general. Throughout, however, the manager was very careful to keep out of the internal politics of the cooperative, openly at least.

In another way, the local government and the Health Association became related. We have indicated that the surplus funds of the town budget reverted to the federal government at the end of the year. At the end of the second fiscal year, some of the councilmen, not wanting to return the surplus, suggested that the town equip and operate a small municipal hospital of ten beds. This hospital was to be run by the medical staff of the Health Association, with the assistance of two more hired nurses. The bill for the proposed hospital was favorably received by the citizens and passed by the council. Extra equipment was purchased

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[1] See Chapter 2

and used by the hospital and the Health Association. The manager was not enthusiatic about this program, wanting to substitute the Public Health program. Despite his resistance, the hospital was opened early in 1939.

At the end of its first year of operation, the hsopital's budget indicated a deficit of approximately $10,000. The hospital operated at a loss despite the fact that it was fully occupied almost all of the time. It was obvious that the hospital could not support itself unless it was enlarged and extra services rendered to Greenbelters and the surrounding area.

Opposition to the hospital arose. Metropolitan newspapers began to inquire why the Government was subsidizing a hospital. Cries of "socialized medicine" and "favoritism" arose. The "conservatives" in town maintained that government should provide only the indigent with "subsidized care." The manager suggested that the town should not expect the federal government to make up the deficits of the town's health program.

Those in favor of the continuation of the hospital maintained that these arguments were fallacious. They stated that most hospitals were endowed and subsidized. They maintained the town could support a hospital if it wished. It all depended on how it wanted to spend its money. They pointed out that the town had built a swimming pool after the first year which cost $70,000. This they maintained was tantamount to a federal

subsidy of recreation. They insisted that any service of the town was in a sense subsidized; that it was the intention of the Government to subsidize these things, as an experiment of group living. But whatever the Government's intentions were when Greenbelt opened, it did not intend to support a hospital at this time.

The protagonists of the hospital on the town council wanted to continue the operation of the hospital by transferring money from one department to another. Naturally this was resisted by the departments affected. The protagonists pointed out that the recreation department's budget need not be so large; that the whole problem would be solved by transferring funds. It was to them a budgetary question. They maintained that the budget was a "social" document that reflected how people want their money spent, and the sentiment was that they wanted it spent for health protection. After much wrangling the hospital was allowed to survive another year. But the following year, Farm Security Agency refused to approve the budget with the hospital in it. The council had to acquiesce, or fight the Agency. It decided it had more to gain by cooperating with the Government. The council suggested "saving" the hospital by taxing the citizen; that is, by adding a dollar or two to monthly rentals. A referendum was held to determine whether the citizens were willing to make up the hospital deficit in this manner. The proposal was defeated by a small margin.[1] In view of the interest aroused by the conflict, no one could understand or explain why so few people voted. In subsequent budgets, the hospital adherents pointed out that the town budget had not been reduced but that the money had been spent for other services. It is true that the gross budget

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1 See Greenbelt Cooperator, January 14, 1942.

was not lowered.

The conflict over the hospital created a division in the town that was not easily forgotten. The older groups, accustomed to the folkways of smaller communities, tended to insist that a municipal hospital was not to be subsidized. It was not the "American way" to subsidize hospitals for middle income groups. The younger people, who were using the hospital mostly for obstretrical care, wanted the hospital for economic reasons. The rates of the rooms, and the costs of operation were very low. They suggested that the cost of medical care was too high for lower middle class people, and it was legitimate for the Government to help. They pointed to the planners' ideals to have low cost medicine.[1]

Others took a "middle" position, stating that the hospital rates should be raised; that the hospital should be run in a more business-like way; that the people should be willing to have their rents raised to support the municipal hospital; that the hospital should be expanded so the people in the surrounding territories could use it; that its services should be increased to include more specialized care upon which more money could be made, and so forth. This issue made it possible for people to see "which side of the fence they stood," and where their neighbors stood. It gave them an open opportunity to confirm their suspicions concerning the philosophies of their friends, associates, and neighbors. The divisions, emnities created over this issue formed the basis of divisions in future conflicts. Some maintained that, although the town manager was not enthusiastic about the hospital, he could have averted much animosity

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[1] The Health Association has on file the original plans of the Farm Security Administration to have a hospital with complete medical equipment in Greenbelt.

by taking a stand one way or the other.

(3) The Home Owners Cooperative also had some indirect connections with the council and direct dealings with the federal government. Only the Credit Union was free of the direct contact with the council and federal government over long periods. These shall be treated elsewhere.

(4) Greenbelt Consumer Services Incorporated had no direct relation with the local or federal government, excepting that it contracted to rent certain of its buildings. It had been granted a monopoly of the retail trade in Greenbelt by the federal government. The need for space, the desire for new and more store space, made it necessary for the council and the Government to consider building schemes and proposals of the Greenbelt Consumer Services. The Cooperatives have always had a representative on the council who could introduce proposals and get them realized. In the internal affairs of the Coops, the manager and the council have tried to remain aloof.

But the attitudes of the council and manager toward the cooperatives are of interest to us. The manager had been in the city-manager movement since its infancy, and he had embraced the ideals and attitudes of that movement. He believed that the manager is supposed to insure the efficiency of the public administration; that the government should be run like a business, but it should not be in business; that government's relations to business should be guided by business principles. Therefore, the

manager should keep a "hands-off" policy toward business (the cooperatives). His only role should be to insure the protection of Government property.

Others in the town maintained that this position was logically and practically untenable.[1] As community manager he had to look out for the "welfare" of the town. The cooperatives were an important part of the town and they affected greatly the town's welfare. Also, they insisted that actually the manager could not dissociate himself from Coop affairs; that his inactivity at times was interpreted by some as expressing an attitude. They said that his inactivity influenced decisions just as much as if he had participated. This young group insisted that the manager's job was not similar to analogous jobs elsewhere, for his job was being both a community and town manager. He could, they maintained, reduce much tension, anxiety, and trouble in the town if he made his attitudes, as well as those of the Government, known under certain circumstances. Some went so far as to say that his inactivity was tantamount to "sabotaging" the cooperatives.

At any rate, the "liberals" slowly received the impression that the manager was not favorably disposed toward the Cooperatives. They thought that he tolerated the Coops, but that he would be glad to see them altered or replaced. Some muttered that he held no Coop stocks

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[1] One bold councilman told the manager he was not considered a "great shake" among city managers because he managed a small town the size of Greenbelt. It was Greenbelt and its unusual organization that gave him his popularity. It was, he insisted, because Greenbelt was unusual, and as such, the town should be administered with unusual techniques.

in his own name. The manager always denied he had any enmity toward the Coops; he insisted that his role was to remain neutral.[1] Some endorsed his policy, but others called it "anachronism." The conflict, if it ever existed, was never aired in public. Said one self-styled liberal

> The manager had an opportunity to mould community opinion without obviously doing so, but he muffed it. He was socially too conservative for his job. He was the poorest possible choice to guide and direct people to fulfill the ideals of the planners."[2]

(5) The "transportation problem" is something that the council attacked. Under the town charter, the council had a right to set up an independent transportation system. Obviously it could only do so if it had sufficient funds. When the town opened, transportation arrangements were not completed. The Farm Security Administration soon made an agreement with the Capitol Transit Company that provided direct transportation from Greenbelt to the center of Washington. However, the system did not pay for itself and the Farm Security Administration had to make up the deficits. This it was reluctant to do after the second year, and the town had to arrange a less satifactory agreement with the Transit Company. One chief cause for the inability of the Capitol Transit Company to make money was the

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[1] At a critical Health Association meeting that augured intense factional disputes, the manager made a speech declaring his neutrality in the "squabble." He repeatedly emphasized that "the conflict was not good for the community." He insisted that "Greenbelt" should come before any of its organizations, and so forth. After his speech he left the assembly, for he didn't "want to hear or participate in the disputes."

[2] A few who disliked the manager personally, as well as his social views, occasionally "baited" him during council meetings, but without much success.

existence of the car pools against which the company claimed it could not compete. It is true that it was much cheaper and more convenient to pay one's neighbor $1.50 a week to be driven to and from work. On the problem of getting more and better transportation everyone agreed.[1]

(c) The Council and Special Interest. The council has the legal right to prepare the budget and spend its funds as it wishes. "Pressure groups" soon arose to "help" that body decide how it should spend its money. Some pressure groups were stronger and more permanent than others. However, none regarded themselves as promoting "special" interest. They associated their interests with the "good of the Community." Two main techniques of realizing proposals were: (1) obtaining endorsement by the manager, and (2) getting a representative directly on the town council. Three organizations succeeded in securing permanent representation on the town council. These were the American Legion, the Athletic Association, and the Cooperatives. At times, other groups received representation, but they did not get "permanent seats." These included the Health Association, the Parent-Teacher Association, the Bowling League, and the Garden Club. We shall be concerned mainly with the first three organizations in this section:

(1) The American Legion had quick success in obtaining what it wanted most; a separate club-house or meeting place. Very early it secured permision to use an empty house located on Greenbelt property not far from

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[1] The Citizens' Association addressed itself to this problem perennially, but it met with little success. At times it claimed success in preventing the service from being reduced. The assistant community manager "made his name" by waging a colorful campaign to restore better service.

the edge of town. The Legion leased this house for a very small nominal sum. It remodeled the house and made "improvements" as it saw fit. Many suggest and few deny, that some of the material and even labor that went into the remodling was supplied by the town. The Legion allows other organizations to use its "home" for a meeting place.[1]

The Legion has asked that the usual deference to its values be honored, and that it be given the leading role in organizing that deference. It suggested that the town be "appropriately "decorated on holidays with flags and other national paraphenalia. It asked that a flag pole be erected in a conspicuous place. It succeeded in obtaining the "cooperation" of the town in preparing and executing "observance-programs" on national holidays. For example, although the American Legion prepared the program for Memorial, Independence, and Armistice Day, the cost of printing the programs was paid by the town treasury. The Legion has asked the town to take a more direct role in the revival of its Boy Scout "movement," and so forth. Most observers agree that the Legion, being composed of older men, plays a "conservative" role in town affairs. Its influence is perhaps stronger in "tempering" certain measures, than in advancing any special interests of its town.

(2) The Athletic Association also exerts a strong influence in town affairs. It too has had the good-will of the town manager. When the town was conceived and built, a prominent place was given to the recreational program. In fact, a separate Recreation Department was created in the

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[1] The sociological function of the American Legion for its members is treated elsewhere. It is important to note that the Legion has always had a representative on the council.

town government. The Athletic Association succeeded in expanding these elaborate plans. How much it was actually responsible for "basic athletic equipment" in the town is not known. Soon after the town opened, however, the Farm Security Administration built and equipped an Athletic field which is one of the best in the surrounding region. A swimming pool was also constructed. The Athletic Association displayed its appreciation to the town manager by naming the field in his honor.

The Athletic Association succeeded in erecting a club-house with some unofficial help of the manager and council. Although the Association did not secure a lease from the Farm Security Administration before it began to build, the manager gave the "go ahead" sign. Some even suggest the Association received some aid in the form of material, equipment, and labor from the town.

The Association realized some of its other desires. Lights for night baseball were secured after considerable pressure; and a loudspeaking system was provided. The town subsidized a baseball team apart from its contributions to purchase ball equipment for junior teams.

(3) Prince Georges county does not support kindergartens in its public school system. The younger, better-educated parents in Greenbelt wanted the town to finance a kindergarten. The manager was at first opposed to this, on financial and other grounds. Resistence was also encountered by some of the older people who thought that the school should not take the children away from the home too early. "Too much education too early is not a good thing," they suggested. After considerable wrangling and pressure, the town council passed the ordinances necessary for the

town to support the kindergarten. After a time, the manager agreed that it was a good idea to have the kindergarten, but some of the die-hards still objected.[1]

(4) The council also responded to pressure to form a community band, to provide it with loans to buy instruments, music, and uniforms. This pressure originated from those interested in "broadening" their children's education. The Director of Adult Education was given the jobs of organizing the band. Instruments were procured by repairing those "rejected" by the army bands, and then rented to interested applicants. The Parents' Board wanted the town to provide uniforms, and after considerable debates it decided to supplement the sum that the Parents' Board had raised for their purchase.

(5) The local weekly newspaper The Cooperator assayed to secure a small subsidy from the council, but this was refused. However, it did not have to pay rental for office space. The religious bodies approached the subject of building churches at public expense, but their petitions were denied. The Athletic Association and the Bowling Leagues asked the town to build bowling alleys. Although the proposal received serious attention, funds were not forthcoming. The Garden Club wanted a tool shed and separate meeting place. The radio "hams" wanted permission to

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1 Greenbelt has the only publically supported kindergarten in Prince Georges county. Some people have objected to the indirect subsidization of education by the federal government.

build an antena for a local radio station, but its request was denied. The Parent-Teachers Association asked for additional school space and for more equipment. The cooperatives asked for more buildings for its stores. These were likewise tabled for lack of funds. The council was sympathetic to these proposals, especially the demand for more school rooms, but admitted it could do little without the material support from the supervising Agency. When the Agency was pressed for funds, it often parried, maintaining that it, in turn, was dependent on the Federal Works Administration for funds.

Many of the above schemes are only tabled, for their protagonists have not given up hope. Their technique is never to let the council or the Agency forget their pet schemes. They suggest to the council that it "pressure" the Farm Security Administration more vigorously. The council has been reluctant to do this, perhaps because the manager already had a direct "line" with the Agency. The manager could indicate to the council the supposed feelings of the Agency on any subject.

The council was and is not unified in its attitude toward special interests. An analysis of the age composition of the council indicates that it was and is an older group than the working population of the community.[1] Also, the turnover of councilmen has been rather low when compared to other organizations. The younger, self-styled "liberal"

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[1] The age of the first councilmen averaged 39 years, while the age of the working population was 29. Much the same situation existed for later councils.

elements in the town maintained that they have been underrepresented in the council, giving the "conservatives" a controlling hand. With a "socially conservative" manager, they maintain, the will of the "liberal majority" (never clearly proved) has been flouted. The "liberals" have been "disappointed" in the Athletic Association (made up largely of younger people) because it is not interested in "real" issues. Its only desire has been to obtain more and better equipment. The Association has, therefore, tended to side with the "people in power," who are able to give it what it desires.

Special privileges that reflect themselves in fluctuating tax bills in the ordinary town do not obtain in Greenbelt because of the town's peculiar organization. That is, much of the local patronage and privilege usually at the disposal of municipalities is absent in Greenbelt.[1] The only financial tie between the residents and the Agency is the payment of the rent. The amount of rent is not subject to political pressure, but is adjusted to such factors as income and size of family. A family's rent is the result of a rather inflexible rent policy imposed by the Agency

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[1] Compare how Greenbelt is run economically with the description of Thorstem Veblen of "country town." See Absentee Ownership (New York: Viking Press, 1938), Chapter 7, Part 3.

on the "community" as a whole. It is not subject to "politics," or bargaining.[1]

Since the services received do not fluctuate with rent paid, it is to the advantage of the residents, "liberal" or "conservative," to secure as many additional services as possible. The mechanism of securing these is to request them of the supervising agency either through the community manager, or through the elected council. If some services do not entail large expenditures, and funds are available in the current budget, the council merely passes an appropriate resolution or ordinance. The formation of the budget and the internal allocations within it constitute, as we have seen, the area where the "political decisions" are made. It is within this area that local pressures operate most.

Since the council has no real bargaining weapon with the Federal Public Housing Authority, except a discontented or contented citizenry, it cannot force the Agency to provide funds for increased services. It is true that the latter cannot afford to ignore the town's state of mind, for the metropolitan press will quickly magnify a rift between it and the Greenbelt. However, the Agency can, if it must, plea lack of funds or the necessity for conservation, to tone down undesired publicity. The only way

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[1] This fact is well demonstrated by the failure of the Rent Protestant Committee, which arose when the Federal Public Housing Authority changed its policy and computed rent largely on the basis of income alone and size of dwelling. Overnight the Committee grew strong, collected $500 to fight the "constitutionality" of the ruling. It failed completely in altering the rent policy. The town council studiously avoided participation in the "feud" between the citizens and the Agency.

the town can obtain a costly service for which the Federal Public Housing Authority will not allocate money is for that body to tax the residents. It can do this directly, or by adding the tax to the rent bill. The townspeople have been so adverse to both these methods, that the council is, in effect, stripped of its taxing power. Thus the Federal Public Housing Authority's hands have been inadvertently strengthened.

It must not be inferred that the political structure of Greenbelt is totally bereft of economic significance. In a number of indirect ways, politics and economics are related. For example, the salaries of councilmen are $250 a year, the constitutional limit. This is not an insignificant sum for low-salaried employees. But only five people may secure this "honorarium." Although these candidates do not compaign under formal party labels, although they reputedly represent no partisan interest, an undercurrent of special pressures, economically flavored, is present. Electioneering, securing "pledge" votes is not an uncommon activity around election time. Candidates are known to have the support of one or a combination of "interests" or organizations in the town.

What the supporters of various candidates want, of course, are services or equipment given to their group in precedence to other groups. The important fact to underscore here is, that any additional service, no matter how trifling, is an economic savings for the group that receives it. Duplicating the service may mean commuting to Washington and purchasing it, or going without. A larger library appropriation, a nursery school, better athletic equipment, a kindergarten, securing the exclusive use of federal property for a particular purpose, and so forth, advance the savings,

convenience, or standard of living of a group or a combination of groups. Thus the selection of councilmen sympathetic to one's "pet" cause is an important decision. The composition of the council reflects the organizational conflicts and compromises in the town, as do town councils elsewhere.

Analysis of the councilmen indicates that their occupational characteristics did not differ extremely from that of the town as a whole at the beginning. Later, councils did not represent manual workers, however. The average age of all the councils exceeded that of the town as a whole. Also, the turnover of councilmen has decreased with time. "Liberals" insist that any changes that have occured have been "for the worst," that is, have been in the "conservative" direction.

2: Citizens' Association

The Citizens' Association is the other town-wide organization. It is even older than the council. When the town first opened, the Administration called a mass meeting, and suggested that the citizens form an organization which would be an intermediary between themselves and the Government. Since the council was not to be elected for another two months it was necessary that some organization act as a liaison body. The suggestion of the Administration was complied with. Officers were elected, by-laws and constitution were drawn up, committees selected, and so forth.

The purpose of the early meetings was to acquaint the citizenry with the aims and aspirations of the "planned community." The machinery of government was explained to the residents, as well as their rights and obligations toward the town. Aside from the mimeographed sheets

sent to residents informing them of certain "regulations" of the management, the Association functioned as a communication channel of the Administration.

In order to integrate the town with the surrounding areas, the Greenbelt Association joined the State Federation of Citizen Associations. The latter body proved to be too formal, however, and interest in it soon subsided.

Another major function of the Association was to initiate other organizations in the town. This was accomplished through six standing committees,[1] and several other temporary committees. The plan was to set up some programs, as educational, recreational, welfare, and so forth, under the auspices and jurisdiction of the Citizens' Association. The tendency for organizations to set themselves up independently was barely visible at first, but grew stronger with time.

The activities of the Association were many. We shall not outline them here in detail. Among other things, it established committees to study the possibility of the citizens running the cooperative stores.[2] It also sponsored meetings for discussing the possibilities of organizing a medical cooperative. These committees did preliminary work under the auspices of the Association, but later divorced themselves from the parent body. However, the new organizations continued the practice of reporting

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[1] Legislative, educational, recreational, town administration, social welfare, and membership.

[2] See above for the activity of the Cooperative Organizing Committee.

to the Citizens' Association for a time, but later ceased to do so. Some insisted that the practice be continued, but there were no ways of enforcing their demands.

The most ambitious program of the Association was undertaken by its Education Committee. Under the chairmanship of a University of Maryland professor, the committee began to create an educational program. It circulated a questionnaire asking people what subjects they desired to study. The activity of the committee was delayed when the Administration advised that it was hiring an Adult Education Director. Since the latter was almost a year in coming, the actual classes were delayed.

When the Director of Adult Education came, she reported to the committee, and a full program was instituted in the autumn of 1938. College, high school, and non-credit courses were arranged and given. Funds from federal sources (Smith-Hughes and George-Dean), county funds, and small individual fees financed the program. Three hundred people were interested in the courses offered, and a majority of them enrolled. The courses included accounting, politidal science, commercial courses, hand_icraft, art, and others. Gradually, the Administration handled more and more of the details of the program, until it assumed full supervision of it.

For the first few years, the Association provided some recreation and entertainment for the town. Inexpensive dances, admission twenty-five cents, were held about once a month, and on holidays as Labor Day and Hallowe'en. Local talent provided entertainment at some of the meetings.

Gradually interest in the Association diminshed. Meetings were

held less frequently and less periodically, until the organization was threatened with dissolvement. Whereas there was keen competition for offices in the organization in the early days, it was difficult to "give away" the presidency by 1943. The Administration made efforts to revive the Association, but was not very successful.

Why did the importance and the influence of the Association diminish? In its inception, the Association satisfied the demand for social contacts, recreation, entertainment, and education. As special interest organizations were established, they tended to absorb some of the functions of the Association. The Association found it increasingly difficult to integrate and maintain the different interests of the citizens.

For example, the educational program was initiated by the Association. After the second year that became increasingly under the control of the local Office of Adult Education. The recreational functions were absorbed by the Legion, Athletic Club, Bowling Leagues, the Recreation Department of the Town, and other organizations. The same applied for the Association's entertainment function.

Why does the Association still manage to remain in existence then? Two major reasons why may account for this, First, in case any "emergency" arises, which does not fall in the sphere of interest of any specialized organization, the citizens may take over the organizational shell of the Association to meet the "crisis." This was the case when the rents were increased. A Rent Protest Committee of the Citizens' Association was suddenly formed and the president of the Association was asked to call a special open meeting. The Treasury of the Association was appropriated to pay for legal expenses to test the right of the Government to raise rents

in war time. About two-hundred people appeared at these meetings. Within a month after this "crisis," all interest in the Association subsided, and the appeals to attend were heeded only by a score of people.

The second purpose the Association appears to satisfy, is one of a therapeutic nature. At its meetings, it is possible for anyone to express any opinion about anything he desires. It is the one only place outside The Cooperator that this may be done. A few who have "pet peeves" use their "democratic prerogative" of self-expression. Association officers find that this type of thing has greater attraction than all the refreshments, games, or community singing that have been used to entice people to meetings.

In an effort to provide some machinery to meet problems of a "community-wide nature, and to have a framework in which separate associations may attack mutual problems, some residents have proposed the establishing of a "community council" to replace the Association. This proposal has not been cordially received, however.

Now let us turn to the other important town organizations, the cooperatives.

CHAPTER IX

THE GREENBELT CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE AND THE HEALTH ASSOCIATION

1: Some Cooperative Principles

The Farm Security Administration, when it set up Greenbelt, wanted cooperatives to play a central role in the economic organization of the town. In line with the theme of "the planned community," it wanted the business organizations to embody the principles of planned growth.

We cannot here describe in detail all the principles of cooperative enterprise. We shall briefly outline the main principles of consumers' cooperatives.[1] These principles are based on those evolved by the Rochdale cooperative organization over a century ago. The basic feature of this type of business organization, is of course, the ownership of the enterprise by the consumers. The latter elect a board of directors who run the corporation for the best interests of the consumers. If profits are made, they are returned to the sonsumers, after certain portions are laid aside for reserves. The consumers receives returns ("profits") in proportion to the volume of their purchases at the end of each fiscal year.

Regardless of the number of shares (stocks) the consumer has in his organization, he only has one vote in membership meetings. It is thus improbable for a few individuals who own most of the stocks to run

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[1] For general references cf., John Daniels, Cooperation, The American Way (New York: Covici-Friede, 1938); James P. Warbasse, Cooperative Democracy (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936); Cooperation, magazine of the Cooperative League of America.

the organization for their special interest. The fact that the number of shares a consumer may own are limited, is added insurance against this. Of course, interest is paid on the shares that the consumers invest in the cooperative. Usually a set rate of interest (about five per cent) is set as a ceiling for dividends on stocks. The object of this limitation is to return as much as possible to the consumer, regardless of the number of shares he may own.

Membership in such a business organization is usually open to all, irrespective of class, race, or other characteristics. Cooperatives feel that they can have open membership, for they claim to observe "neutrality" in politics, religion, race, and "social" questions.

Business in a cooperative is usually done on a cash basis, and voting by proxy is allowed but discouraged. Prices at the stores are usually set at market prices.

Most cooperatives have an education committee that seeks to spread cooperative ideals to members and non-members. Usually a set amount of the "profits" are set aside for the work of this committee. Another function of the group is to educate the consumer concerning the quality of the goods he buys. Advertising of brand goods is "played down" in the effort to teach the consumer to buy the best quality at the lowest price.

Another principle of the movement is the emphasis on expansion. This means two things: (1) affiliating with other organizations so that business may be done jointly at greater savings for all concerned, and (2) entering into broader and broader fields of distribution and production.

The goals that "cooperators" envision concern not only domination of the distribution field so that expenses here may be reduced to a minimum,

but also entering the production fields. The object of the latter, of course, is to reduce the cost of production to a minimum, and return any profits of production directly or indirectly to the consumer.

This solution is regarded by many as the means of achieving socialism without having the government dominate and control the productive facilities. It is also considered the most "democratic" way of solving the "economic ills" of contemporary western society.

The immediate end of all this activity is not primarily to do away with private enterprise, but to reduce the profits of the private enterprise system. In this way, the consumer may profit most. The whole profit principle is reverted in the cooperative movement into a savings principle. Cooperators feel that in the long run, if cooperatives are not legally discriminated against, that private business will tend to disappear. In any case, they feel cooperatives can easily compete with business if managed correctly.

2: Greenbelt Consumer Service

The cooperatives or the Greenbelt Consumer Services Incorporated, (GCS) constitute perhaps the most important single voluntary association in the town.[1] Although the Council may have more "power," the GCS holds

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[1] These include two grocery stores, dry cleaning and shoe repair shop, drug store, variety store, theater, barbershop, beauty parlor, and a candy-tobacco stores.

the attention and interest of the citizen to a greater degree. The cooperatives in Greenbelt have attracted national interest, for the town was the first to have all of its stores operated strictly on cooperative principles. The interest of the local citizens is understandable for in 1943 they spent over a million dollars in their stores. The Greenbelt Consumer Service has a larger membership than any other organization in Greenbelt, with the exception of the Citizens' Association, in which membership is nominal. It takes a ten-dollar investment to become a member shareholder of the GCS.

As mentioned elsewhere, before anyone moved into Greenbelt, the Farm Security Administration leased the Greenbelt stores to the Consumers' Distribution Corporation, (CDC) a non-profit organization endowed by E. A. Filene, for the purpose of fostering the growth of cooperatives in the United States. Under the terms of the contract, the Corporation agreed to make no profit from operating the stores. When the people of Greenbelt were willing and qualified, the Corporation was to turn over the business to them.[1] However no formal plans were made to initiate citizen interest in cooperatives.

When the residents came into the town they naturally displayed curiosity about the operation of the stores. Some of the clerks, hired by the Corporation, were firm believers in cooperatives. They explained to interested residents the principles of cooperatives and their advantages. Since the stores' personnel lived in the town, it could propagate cooperative beliefs to neighbors and friends.

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[1] For details see "Government Backs Coops at Greenbelt," Business Week, September 11, 1937.

In December 1937, when there were 200 families in town, the President of the Citizens' Association appointed, at the request of the members, a committee to investigate the cooperative idea. When this Cooperative Advisory Committee reported at a subsequent meeting, the citizens suggested that the committee go ahead and lay the foundation for obtaining control of the cooperatives.

This Cooperative Advisory Committee instituted consumer discussion groups, and sub-committees to study the problems or operating each store. It also directed the study of management and cooperative problems. In the enthusiasm, "gum-drop" cooperatives were organized in the schools, and consumer study groups, buyers' clubs, and so forth in the town. A few months later, the Committee reported to the Citizens' Association on its progress. It advised that the Association dissolve the committee and appoint new committee that would thenceforth be independent of the Association. The recommendation was accepted, and The Cooperative Organizing Committee was formed. The responsibilities of the new committee were similar to those of the previous committee, but it was empowered to take the steps necessary to transfer the stores to the people of Greenbelt. The plan was for this committee to dissolve automatically when the Cooperatives were formally transferred to local control.[9] A college professor interested in cooperatives, fearful that the original leaders of the movement had lost enthusiasm, held a caucus in his home. The older leaders were ejected and "young blood" was put in control. A young college instructor of mathematics was chosen first president of the committee. Under his direction the organization went forward with active publicity work, acquainting the people further with the principles

of coops, and their mechanics. They held movies, lectures, neighborhood nights, quiz nights, and so on. Citizen interest ran high.

The committee worked out an agreement with the CDC that the Greenbelt stockholders would assume full control of the business when they constituted one-half of the families of Greenbelt. That is, one-half of the families had to invest ten dollars in the cooperatives before they could own and run them. The change to local cooperative management, it was planned, would be effected by amending the charter and by-laws of Greenbelt Consumer Services, a subsidiary created by the CDC. The GCS stock owned by the CDC was to be retired, and the subscriptions for shares in the new Greenbelt Consumer Services Incorporated were to be converted into stocks of the new organization. This plan was presented to the people of Greenbelt and accepted.

The task of getting the requisite share-subscriptions went forward. A substantial minority was rather easily convinced that the cooperatives were a "good thing," as well as a good investment. Another minority had to be convinced. They were new to the "community," and liked to talk and listen. Many of these purchased shares. Others were rather suspicious of the whole enterprise. They could not understand why the CDC would be operating the stores without a profit. They were sure that the Consumer Distribution Corporation was making a "killing" from the operation of the business. When the citizens themselves finally took over the business some of the suspicion disappeared, but a substantial minority remained "die-hards." A few of them did not believe that ordinary citizens had the ability to operate a business. Canvassers indicated it was difficult to convince people to buy shares in view of the fact that the

stores were losing money.

The town newspaper, The Greenbelt Cooperator, at first published by the Journalistic Club, came out strongly for cooperatives, running articles and editorials on this being the "middle and American way." The canvassers who went around getting share subscriptions said they met resistance, but in no case did they have "unpleasant experiences." It was the consensus of this group that Greenbelters were typical government workers; that they reacted to coops like most government workers their age, that they could not make any generalizations concerning the reaction of white-collar workers toward cooperatives, except that under favorable conditions a majority could be convinced that they were worth a try. This task became easier after 1939 when the cooperatives came out of the red and into the black.[1]

By April, 1939 a majority of the residents had purchased stocks.[2] Shortly after a "dummy" election of the new independent board of the GCS was held. The members of the subsidiary, as they withdrew, appointed those who were popularly elected to succeed them. The Farm Security Administration was convinced that the new GCS board represented the town and sanctioned its taking over the business.[3] The actual process was

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[1] "Greenbelt Coops Get in the Black," Business Week, July 29, 1939.

[2] A dividend of 1.5 per cent was declared at the end of 1939 to be taken in shares. A 3.85 per cent dividen was declared in 1940, half of which had to be taken in shares.

[3] See "Greenbelt Takes Over," Business Week, February 3, 1940.

rather complicated legally, but it was finally accomplished in January, 1940.[1] By March, 1940 sixty-seven per cent of the families were members. About this time the CDC left Greenbelt with a deficit of $10,000.[2] This largely resulted from the fact that federal officials had advised the corporation that the town would be populated more quickly than it actually was. Thus the corporation was operating with a larger service-plant than was needed for almost a year.

As an economic venture the citizen control of the cooperatives was successful. The cooperatives have been able to pay a patronage return every year since 1939. Of course, there were complaints that such returns should be expected because the cooperatives' prices were higher than those in metropolitan chain stores. Repeated comparative studies showed that this was not so, or if so, the difference was more than made up in the form of patronage returns.[3]

The earlier managers hired by the GCS were "cooperative minded." They believed in cooperatives; they pushed cooperatives brands, and wanted extensive consumer education. The first manager, although popular and successful, left because he had inherited two drugs stores. The second manager, of Finnish extraction, also believed thoroughly in co-

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[1] The structure of the cooperative need not be detailed. It conforms to the classic pattern. It has a popularly-elected board of directors of nine members. It appoints the managers of the business and in general supervises them. Quarterly meetings of the membership are held, at which time the managers and board members as committee heads, report the state and progress of the business. Naturally, elections are based on the principle of "one member one vote," regardless of number of stocks owned. No member can own more than twenty shares.

[2] The loan of $40,000 by the CDC to the GCS had been reduced by January 19, 1941 to $26,000. The CDC retained the right to take over the stores up to five years after the transfer, if the stores were operating at a loss.

[3] The large bibliography on Greenbelt is concerned with this subject. See H. W. Bennett, "Consumers and the Greenbelt Cooperative," Journal of Marketing, July, 1941, pp. 3-10.

operatives. Although he managed that business well, the fact that he and his wife were not citizens aroused some antagonism. When offered positions in the CDC, they left Greenbelt.

According to those people in the town who are cooperative enthusiasts, (self-styled "Cooperators" or "Liberals") the succeeding managers did not and do not believe wholeheartedly in the cooperatives ideals. Repeatedly one heard, "The liberal elements have lost much of their influence, and the cooperatives have fallen under the domination of the conservatives and the managers." To the "liberals," the history of the cooperatives may not be written as "expanding services and increasing efficiency," as in the managers' reports to the membership, but as a "decrease in interest and deemphasis of ideology." It is probable that the members are more "liberal" today than are the board members and managers.[1]

A chronological financial history of the GCS does not increase the understanding of its changes, as much as an analysis of its changing policy. Although there have been a few instances where crises have shaken their foundations, on the whole, the coops have indicated considerable stability as a business. Their actual existence have never been threatened as was the case with the Health Association. The changes have followed a general trend; the drift away from the total acceptance of the cooperatives

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[1] For instance in the general reports of the managers to the membership in 1942 and 1943, not much was stated concerning consumer education, while earlier reports emphasized this aspect. See Part 4 of this thesis for material concerning hostility of members toward the managers.

ideology up to 1943, and a gradual tendency to return to it after that year. Below we shall indicate some of the ideological conflicts within the movement in Greenbelt. They indicate most clearly the issues and divisions. These instances are not necessarily chronological.

(1) The conflict between the "efficiency" crowd, and the "social visionary" crowd centers around "publicity." No one disputes that in the early day the "idealists" controlled the actual business, as well as the propaganda of the coops.[1] Some of their efforts along the latter lines were indicated above. They continually insisted that the consumer had to be educated concerning how his interests were affected. This had to be done even at the expense of smaller patronage returns. They insisted that savings had to be subservient to consumer education and service. For the cooperators, it was more important to build up confidence of the consumer in cooperatives than to secure his purchases.

For example, due to local Maryland law, certain drugs and other products could be purchased less expensively in the District of Columbia. The cooperative advertised this fact, and advised consumers to buy in the District if they wished. At the same time, however, they indicated that other products could be more cheaply purchased in the cooperatives.

"Brand education" was also an important part of their program.

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[1]They inserted in the By-laws of the GCS Inc. (p. 21) the stipulation that five per cent of the net savings for the year be used for the purpose of informing the membership about cooperative principles, problems, and practices. Also the Education Committee shall report at least semi-annually to the membership how the funds were used.

Especially in the purchase of drugs, the consumers were urged to look for the U.S.P. and the N.F. rating, as quality indices. The early publicity emphasized that the coops carried all brands, but that it was uneconomical for the consumer to purchase some of them. Various buyers and consumer clubs organized by the GCS's educational leaders, aided in the dissemination of such knowledge.

As time passed, emphasis on consumer education diminished.[1] Early in 1942 the last of the consumer clubs ceased to function. The official reasons were that the town could not absorb quickly enough all the new residents, that all organizations were experiencing difficulty in maintaining membership in the face of competion with the newly created civilian defense organizations. A few insisted, however, that it was precisely at this point that increased efforts at consumer education should be applied. By 1944, the latter point of view began to be accepted and efforts to revitalize consumer interest were begun.[2]

(2) In the grocery stores, consumer education at first sought to

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[1] The space devoted to consumers' education, household hints, inexpensive receipes, and so forth, in the Cooperator decreased steadily. In 1943 spaces devoted to these items was practically nil. This may not be accounted for by suggesting that consumers had been sufficiently well educated.

[2] A block warden system was inaugurated late in 1943 for the dissemination of cooperative propaganda. Another object was, of course, to increase membership.

(a) get consumers (never "customers") to buy coop brands (b) teach patrons to distinguish between the various grades of coop products (c) inculcate the habit of reading labels, and (d) teach quality-consciousness. This type of education was not continued. The early managers purchased coop products because they maintained they were, on the whole, superior in quality and less expensive. Subsequent managers purchased coop brands less and less. They held that coop brands were not less expensive than other brands, that patrons avoided coop brands, and that in many cases coop brands were inferior to standard brands. Though some of the "liberal" board members were inclined to doubt these assertions, they had neither the time nor the technical competance to check them.[1] Some hinted that standard brands may have been purchased because the rate of profit on them is larger. Thus, managers could show that they were running the business with greater efficiency. A few insisted that coop brands should be pushed for their educative value.[2]

(3) The point where one may locate ideological differences is in discussions on the budget and expenses of the education committee. The "conservatives" or self-styled "realists" believe that it is uneconomical

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[1] See Bennett, op. cit., pp. 3-10. His results showed roughly that "more than half of the shareholders preferred cooperative brands to standard canned goods, while non-shareholder showed less preference." Also, that shareholders looked with more favor upon the price and quality of coop brands. In other words, the "convinced," acted according to cooperative educational objectives.

[2] It is probably true that war ceiling-prices reduced the difference in pricesbetween standard and coop brands.

to educate the consumer too much; that the cost of education reduces the returns to the consumer, and indirectly increases the cost of business. Cooperators believe that money spent for education is not only permissible but necessary to create a sound cooperative. They maintained that one may not measure the value of education in dollars and cents, and that any money spent on education is well-spent. Quite early the Cooperators decided that publicity to the consumer should be organized and steady. They proposed employing a full-time Educational Director. The college instructor in mathematics, who was the first president of the cooperatives had resigned his teaching post to devote his career for the furtherance of cooperative movement. It was suggested that he become the educational director. Since he was already a member of the Board of Directors, he could not, constitutionally; become an employee of the organization until a year after he left office. He offered to resign his post.

Intense opposition to the move arose. The "realists" maintained that it would be necessary for the cooperatives to almost double their business to support a publicity director. They argued that the manager would absorb all of the earnings of the cooperatives in his salary. The proponents maintained that a director would pay for himself by attracting more shareholders, by increasing the purchase of coop brands and by saving money by educating him. The opposing sides began to canvass the town, door-to-door, to convince members to vote one way or another in this issue. This issue became personalized. The suggested director was accused of preparing a sinecure for himself.

The electioneering emotions were carried over into an acrimonious membership debate. After much wrangling the motion was finally

made and carried not to have an educational director. The rancor aroused by this conflict persisted in subsequent coop affairs. The incident served to identify the antagonists clearly. The sides had been formed, and they were quickly formed and reformed in each recurring conflict.

Two years later, one of the bookkeepers of the cooperative was chosen as Publicity Director by the manager without consulting the membership. The "liberals" did not regard this as a triumph, however, but merely as an organizational necessity realized by the "conservative" manager.

The way in which the management helped spend the funds of the education committee was a debated issue during the period. A wife of a college professor challenged the manager to define what "consumer education" was. She maintained that the education budget had been "stuffed" with any expense of a miscellaneous measure, and that the expenditure was "unplanned, ill-planned, and unsystematic." The manager replied that only one who works daily with problems of public relationship can see how a seemingly irrelevant expenditure "improves the good will" of the organization.

The "publicity problem" was fought as to means as well as to ends. The "liberals" insisted that all or most of the advertising be done in the town's weekly, the Greenbelt Cooperator. The opposition maintained that this would be tantamount to subsiding that paper. The proponent agreed, but insisted that "the cooperatives should support one another." The opponents suggested that the cooperatives do its advertising through circulars, open letters, and bulletins, for this would be the most independent, economical, and convenient solution. When this difference of opinion was brought before the membership meeting, the members decided to back the

"subsidization" of The Cooperator.

(4) In the beginning, the board members were elected to serve without compensation. The only indirect compensation they obtained was having the cooperatives pay their expenses to conventions. After a time, the membership voted that the board members be paid two dollars a meeting, with no limitations on the number of meetings. Some "radicals" opposed this, insisting that this service should be given gratis. They were afraid that the compensation of fifty dollars a year would become more important than the thought of service to the consumer. It was once proposed, but not officially, that the Board members receive ten dollars a meeting, without limitations on the number of meetings. The violent reaction quenched the proposal quickly. However, a few still maintained that more than "token" payments should be given for skills which private business would provide compensation.

(5) Management has always been encouraged to aid in the formulation of policy. Some "liberals" have regretted this. They feel that this practice is commendable as long as board and management are one ideologically. But some feel that management has of late been dominated by principles of private business that are alien to cooperatives. Also, some feel that management indirectly influenced the selection and election of board members sympathetic to itself.[1] In this way, it has a disproportionate

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[1] Late in 1943 and early in 1944 about 110 people worked for the GCS. About seventy of these worked full time. Most of these were members of the cooperative and therefore eligible to vote. The proportion of full-time workers attending general membership meetings has increased. Since it is difficult to obtain a quorum (fifteen per cent of the membership, or 219 people in 1944) at these meetings, it is fairly obvious that the employees have great voting strength. On recent issues they have tended to vote almost as a bloc, in sympathy with the views of the general manager. Whether this is voluntary or involuntary, as a result of pressure by management or not is difficult to determine.

influence in the formation of policy. The split on the boards increasingly seems to be pro and contra management, rather than a strict "conservative-liberal" dichotomy. In general, the "management-conservative coalition" has been more powerful of late.

(6) One conflict in the cooperatives reflected political differences within the membership very clearly. This was in reference to the operation of the dry-cleaning, or valet shop. The cooperative does not own and operate a dry-cleaning establishment. It has contracted one of Washington's plants to do everything but pressing. In 1940 the workers of the dry-cleaning and laundry plant in Washington went on strike. The problem immediately arose whether Greenbelt would send its business through the picket line.

A group of "liberals" banded together and demanded that clothing be not sent to the firm until its labor difficulties were favorably settled. Others believed that the service to the consumer continue uninterrupted. For a while, the policy was, "If you want your laundry done, bring it to the valet shop; if you believe in supporting the workers, do not bring it."

But some of the "liberals" were not satisfied with this. They called a special membership meeting to consider the problem. The meeting was ill-attended but violent. Those present decided that the policy of the coop would be one of bouycotting the laundry. The "conservatives" kept demanding that the strike-line be broken. They complained that not only were services reduced, but that the stores were losing money, and patrons were losing their dividends to the profit of the "radicals and niggers" in Washington. But the policy remained fixed and the town did not

have laundry service for three or four months. These partisan groups continued to conflict on other issues.

(7) In 1944, an issue of ideological importance arose which invigorated the participation of the "liberals." This has been the matter of "incentive contracts" for the managers of the stores.[1] That is, the general manager wanted his income to be based not only on a certain minimum salary, but also on the volume of business done by the enterprises. He maintained that the volume of business of the cooperatives has increased steadily, and this has been due largely to the increased effectiveness of management. He felt that salary increases did not sufficiently reflect the increased business resulting from efficient management. He pointed to the use of "incentive contracts" by private business, which made for better service and a more contented personnel.

This matter of the incentive contract first arose in the employment of the theater manager. The theater, when it first opened, did not pay for itself. Managers were changed, until one was hired in 1942. In his contract there was a "scaler clause," which would increase his salary in proportion to the volume of business. The theater began to pay for itself, and the salary of its manager rose proportionately. With the building of one-thousand new "defense homes," the number of patrons increased, and the income of the theater manager, in part, reflected that increase. It became a matter of endless and acrimonious debate how much of the increased attendance was due to managerial effectiveness, and how much

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[1] The Board of Directors appoints a general manager for all enterprises, and a manager for each store or enterprise.

was due to the increased population of the town. The manager of the theater insisted that the increase was primarily due to his ability. He received the vigorous and unqualified support of the general manager, despite the fact that the theater manager's income was larger than that of the general manager. The former indicated his willingless to renegotiate his salary, but his proposals would leave his salary around $9,000 a year. At the same time, the general manager suggested that his own new contract be drawn along "incentive principles."

The opposition to this "movement among the management" grew rapidly. One group began a campaign, demanding a renegotiation of the theater manager's contract. It maintained that the salary of the manager of any enterprise should not be higher than that of the general manager. Furthermore, they opposed the principle of the "incentive contract." They believed that the cooperatives were not to be run like private business, and the "logic" of private business had no application. They agreed that "good management should be awarded good salaries", but the incentive contract looked too much like "profit enterprise" to them. At open board and membership meetings where the incentive contracts were discussed, the ideology of private enterprise and cooperative enterprise were thrown in sharp relief. A self-selected "study-group" began to do some research on the salaries of theater managers. It led the oppostition to the "incentive plan."

The board listened to the appeals of the management to consider the incentive principle. Although the board was split on the issue, the majority was sympathetic to the managers. Since the members were grumbl-

ing about "profit being put before service", the board was forced to hold open meetings on the subject. It was clear the majority opposed the incentive plan in fact and in principle. "This is a cooperative, not a private business," was the slogan of the "liberals." The most recurrent theme of the business management and the "conservatives" was that the cooperatives "must be run on business-like principles. Since they operate in competition with private business, they must pay like private business to keep good men. Incentive and efficiency should not be punished." During debates the chair found it difficult to maintain order.

Since the theater manager had a contract based on money received, some suggested that his income could be lowered by decreasing the price of theater admission. This would mean that the earnings of the theater would be reduced, and that non-shareholders and non-Greenbelters would profit at the expense of the shareholder. The idealists said that this did not matter, since cooperatives operated for the good of all consumers. But even some "liberals" balked at this plan, and suggested that members be given special rates in the form of book-tickets and outsiders be charged regular prices. Neither plan received the approval of the Government. Since the theater rent was based on fifteen per cent of the gross receipts, lowering the admission price would decrease the theater rentals.

(8) It is odd that the "conservatives", whose main aim was to conserve money and not to spend it for "useless" purposes, backed the plan that the GCS join with the Potomac Cooperative Federation. The object of the federation was to integrate the publicity and operation of the cooperatives in the region. Savings could be made by cooperative pur-

chasing, but it was admitted that savings probably would not equal expenses. It was the conclusion of "liberals" that the "conservatives" agreed to join the federation because the general manager desired it. The latter perhaps thought he would dominate it, since the Greenbelt cooperative was the largest in the region. The "liberals" also decided that the "conservatives" had no integrated philosophy; that they were inclined to accept the opinions of management without much scrutiny. They were in the cooperative movement primarily for prestige or material gains. Also, they wanted to control an organization which had much to do with "general community welfare."

In a few instances, members of the cooperatives split on political problems not immediately concerned with the town's cooperatives. Before the war, the question arose whether the coops should buy from "agressor" nations. The "conservatives" wanted to carry on "business as usual," while the "liberals" wanted some type of buoycott. Again it was a problem whether the economic advantage of the local organization was the primary concern, or whether political ideals should be considered as well. The " orthodox cooperators" with the "conservatives" maintained that the coops should not mix in politics," that cooperatives are "neutral in race, religion, and politics." The "radicals" maintained that one should do business only with "honorable parties." Although no official policy was adopted, it was found that the people automatically bouycotted Japanese goods, but other goods sold without much difficulty.

During the war, the cooperatives decided to "go on record" for

price control and grade labelling. In a local membership meeting, the motion was carried that congressmen be notified of the decision. The majority balked at the idea of a signed petition, but the education committee was asked to send letters expressing the general sentiment. A few "conservatives" maintained that they could not understand price control, and therefore they could not vote intelligently. They suggested that congress decide these problems and that the coops should "keep our eye on our own ball, right here."

The policy that the coops should buy, insofar as possible, only union-made goods, has never been openly challenged. The rights of the employees to grievance hearings, the rate of advancement, the amount and form of the annual bonuses have been objects of discussion and debate. Since the management "has representation" on the board, wage and salary problems are considered and solved without much difficulty.[1] But no attempt has been made to organize the workers. Only feeble efforts have been made to educate them to coop principles.[2] The education committee has been appalled at the fact that the employees of the organization do

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[1] Inconsistency of wages has forced the board of directors to make a wage policy strikingly similar in format to the civil service plan.

[2] Said one manager of one of the stores, "Don't quote me, but I can tell you that eighty per cent of the employees of the coops don't know the most elementary principles about cooperatives."

not know the basic principles of cooperatives. Apparently only a few employees envision making their careers, in the cooperative movement. The cooperators want courses taught to these employees, with inducements to stay in the movement and work for it.

(b) Analysis. It has been demonstrated that the trend for the GCS has been to become less cooperative-minded in character. Yet participation in the cooperatives did not fall off as precipitously as in the other organizations. How may we account for this? The most obvious reason arises from the fact that consumers had to purchase at the coops if they were to purchase in the town. Many residents feel impelled to be concerned in an organization which absorbs approximately one-fifth of their income. They simply want to get their "money's worth," and have their investments protected.

Of course, for those who become Board members, the economic attraction is more visible. They receive about fifty dollars a year, besides having their expenses paid to conferences to New York two to four times a year. The notion is widespread that some representatives have taken advantage of this, and have "stuffed" their expenses accounts. For example, they have taken first-class couches for the four-hour trip to New York City. While there, they have resided at the most exclusive hotels. Said one board member after returning from a cooperative convention, "That trip alone was worth all the time and effort I put into the organization." It was obvious that he was not referring to the meetings in which he had participated, but to the escape from the routine of ordinary life. Since he had not been to

New York City before, he had "painted the town."

The GCS sends a representative to the annual national convention in Chicago. This is indeed a cherished goal of many, a "real break." Some have motivated to attend for the pleasure of the trip. However, to the "faithful" cooperator, the motive is largely the thrill of "meeting all the national leaders of the cooperative movement." This association with the national figures increases their self-esteem and raises them in the eyes of their fellow cooperators. If fortunate to attend, "the chosen" one will quote what so-and-so said at the convention.

The convention also functions as a "spiritual shot-in-the-arm" for the cooperative enthusiasts. After haggling all year long with small, local, petty problems, with their personal tensions and hates, the convention trip serves to reaffirm their faith in the movement. It ingrains in their minds more deeply the idea, "the battle is worth the sacrifice." It reinforces the "missionary" complex. Said one to the investigator,

> "You should have been at the convention. There the ideals of the cooperative movement were evident not only in the business at hand, but in the personal relations of the committeemen. It was a real inspiration; it has given me more strength and courage to carry on."

Even the local conventions in Washington impart to the believers this sense of "progress and purity."

The "gains" obtained from board membership are also psychological in character. Participation is motivated in large part for the status and recognition it will bring. Election to the Board means that one's name will be published frequently. Publicity, of course, is one of the other indications of status in a town like Greenbelt. Whenever new organizations or new drives

are commenced, the Board members are consulted for "advice and endorsement." This, of course, is flattering them.

At times, board members have to make decisions that will affect the lives and livihood of a few people very directly, and of a larger number rather indirectly. The directors are gravely aware of their responsibilities and obligations. It is possible that such duties are relished and taken so seriously because it is rare that bureaucratic personnel makes decisions that visibly affect lives of others. On the contrary, such people are often the object of many commands. Only in the family may they have some power over others. In a sense, the "responsibility" situations may be translated as "power" situations in the minds of the board members, even if in reality, their power is rather small.

The question arises here why the "liberals" lost much of their power in the cooperatives. An analysis of the situation shows that perhaps they abdicated rather than "lost their influence." Their decreased influence was more evident in their relations to management rather than with the membership. That the management has believed less in cooperative principles than have the "liberals" was indicated above. As the management personnel became stable, it became a force in directing the policies of the cooperatives. Simultaneously, the influende of the "liberals" decreased. This trend was accompanied by a rapprochement of management and the "realists."

The theory has been often advanced that when "ideologists" are put into control of organizations, they tend to become more absorbed in administrative details and lose sight of some of their original ideals. This process has

no doubt occurred in the cooperatives, and it may in part account for the "conservative trend." Some "liberals" were aware that this shift was occuring. Why and how they permitted it, is rather easily explainable.

The "liberal" groups were composed of younger people. They provided much of the early organizational push. They were educated and ambitious young men who were climbing faster occupationally than the older groups in town. The latter had reached the peak of their occupational ascent. They remained in town because they did not make enough money to exceed the income limit. The younger "liberal" group that was climbing had to move out of Greenbelt when it exceeded the income limit. Since their attempts to build homes in Greenbelt met with many obstacles, some of them moved out.

But more important, the younger group began to pay more attention to their occupational ascent than to participation in local affairs. They were busy studying and taking work home. They had less and less time for participation as the pressure of their work increased. This was especially the case for those who entered sub-administrative positions. With the coming of the war, the chances for climbing the bureaucratic ladder increased, and the young "liberals" took fair advantage of their opportunities.

But there were other younger elements in town. Why did they not carry out the "liberal tradition?" The Athletic club was composed of younger people. Though the members participated heavily in local affairs they were not a "liberal" influence. The members of the Athletic Association naturally spent more of their free time in physical recreation and relaxation. They were not as highly educated as the "young liberals," and consequently they did not climb as fast occupationally as did "the liberal group." They had more spare time, and this spare time was not used in the discussion of

"ideological problems" or in education. Their general participation was motivated primarily by prestige and not by "ideological goals" as was the case for some "liberals." The Athletes, if elected to the directorships, because of their lack of political anchorage, were inclined to accept the traditional folklore of business and the ways of management. The managers were active members of the Athletic Association. The spirit of commeraderie in the Association carried over into the activities of the GCS.[1]

The "liberals" recognized what was happening, and some of them suggested that they should bowl and pay with the "boys." But they could not find the time. Management, however, found the time to do so, and built the good will of this strong organization. The same pattern also operated for the town council and for the Health Association.

A few of the "liberals" got tired of fighting the case alone. They resented the fact that others of their kind had ceased to participate and show interest. The local GCS lost some of its most "liberal group" to the national cooperative movement. Five of the leading cooperative leaders

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[1] Since Greenbelt does not have a typical political structure, the process of "politicing" is transferred over into the cooperatives. The town council has only five members elected every two years. Constitutionally, the town has to be run along non-partisan lines. That is, formal parties cannot operate with their extensive paraphenalia of committeemen, bosses, clubs, and so forth. The coops are a place where "political" machinery may be built and operated. The fact that members on the cooperative board admit that they do not believe in coops wholeheartedly, betrays the fact that the motives for participation are not ideological in nature.

went into the cooperatives as a life-time vocation. Their interest was drained into the general movement and away from a small segment of it.

The "liberals" in the cooperative movement were largely "made in Greenbelt." With the possible exception of some of the Jewish people, who had come from New York City, and who were acquainted with "liberal" and even "radical" philosophy, only a few called themselves "liberals." The liberal philosophy was introduced to most of them in Greenbelt itself. In the words of one of their leaders,

> We had not much material to work with. We had what you might call 'partially-educated liberals;' people who were disposed to look at only one aspect of their lives in a liberal light. They had not yet thought things through; they hadn't yet formed a liberal philosophy of life. But they were something to work with. They were susceptible to new ideals, but they were not 'radicals.' A few of these really changed in Greenbelt. For some fellows like C, it was like igniting a rocket. He embraced the coop movement body and soul; he went hog-wild. But the general effect of our study, consumer and buyer groups, I suppose was to stimulate liberal thought rather than to actually form it.

What occurred in Greenbelt was contact of some who were "liberally-inclined" with some "self-conscious liberals" who were anxious to convert others to their New Deal faith.

The "conservatives," as one would suspect, were that before they came to Greenbelt. On the whole, they do not have "an integrated" philosophy. They merely accept things as they are and don't want things "disturbed" too much. To the "liberal," they may appear inconsistent and unpredictable. This has led them to assume that the "conservatives" are unintelligent and dull.

A "liberal" complained,

> I don't mind if a man is conservative, if he's intelligent. But the conservatives in this town have elected to office their worst people. It's almost impossible to work with them. They merely make up their minds about something and that is all there is to it. They react emotionally, without intellect, without a consistent point of view. A t times, they're maddening.

What is the ideology of the "liberal cooperator" in Greenbelt? Without a doubt, there is much variation within the group, but certain generalizations about them may be specified. In the first place, they believe in cooperatives, not only as money-saversfor the consumer, but as providing a suitable solution for the larger economic problems of the nation. They interpret this as a "middle-way out," which is neither radical, nor conservative.

These people are not against business as such, but against monopoly-business. They are not even <u>against</u> big business as such. They are afraid that bigness may foreshadow monopoly. They also fear that big business may try to crush cooperatives, should cooperatives themselves become big businesses.

Cooperative propaganda emphasizes the high cost and profit of <u>retailing</u> and <u>distribution</u>. The first duty is the reduction of the cost of distribution, and later the cost of production. The more "radical" cooperators want coops to compete with business in the productive aspect of the economy, while the more conservatives want to use cooperatives as a brake to the orgies and extremities of big business." As one of the latter said,

> I hope I never see the day when cooperatives produce everything in the country. If this were the case, then cooperatives would become inefficient. Anything does when there is no competition. One of the main functions of the cooperatives is to keep business efficient, by threatening to take over its markets if it becomes inefficient. We act as a brake on monopolies, by threatening to compete if their prices become too high. If the cooperatives got very powerful in the United States, I would expect private business to check us them, as we check them now.

The "liberals" in Greenbelt endorsed the New Deal program. They counted heavily and want to continue to count heavily on Government encouragement of cooperatives. The members are sympathetic to labor, organized and unorganized. They insist whereever possible, that the cooperatives purchase only union-made goods. They want labor to become better acquainted with cooperatives, but do not want to become formally affiliated with the labor movement. They do not want to be associated or identified with any "class," for they believe that the cooperatives will go farther if they remain unattached to any single group. They believe that coops will not go faster in this way, but they will go farther.

On the whole, the cooperators in Greenbelt regard with more a favor the cooperative movement in the Scandinavian countries. They protest affiliation of the cooperatives with the unions and with the Labor party as in England, for that is not the "middle way." They are against cooperatives that do not have an open membership. For example, they are against cooperatives formed and sponsored by unions for union members alone. They are against any cooperative that is intentionally closed, be they coops of farmers, white-collar workers, laborers, or any other

group or "class".

The "liberals" in the Greenbelt are apprehensive of the future of the cooperative movement. They point with pride to the enormous progress of the past ten years. They envision the post-war world needing their services more than ever. Although they want to meet this need, they are aware of the growing opposition of private business. They are in a hurry to get "cooperative roots" deep enough in the United States, so that the cooperatives will be able to fight monopolies on at least even ground. They see the necessity for rapid growth and organization. Yet they are hesitant to become allied to the "lower class groups" that could give them the strength that they need.

A few feel that the hand of the coops may be forced in the United States; that they may be forced to make alliances. If this ever occurs, it will be with the farmers and labor. In general, cooperators are less apprehensive of an alliance with farmers than they are with urban workers, for they consistently point with pride at the strength of the rural cooperatives in the midwest. They are gratified at the progress of Negro urban cooperatives, however.

Their ideal solution is to have a sympathetic government encourage the formation of cooperatives. In this way, there would be no "class" or pressure group alliances. The government could help coops by lending them money at a low rate of interest, by spreading favorable publicity about cooperatives, by enforcing the anti-trust laws to the fullest.

The cooperators are sure that they will grow if the Government follows the last of these policies; fighting the trusts.

The leaders believe in the cooperatives "morally" as well as economically. They believe that the cooperatives are humanitarian since they reduce the power of persons over others in the economically. They believe that the world with strong cooperatives would be a force to promote peace and welfare. They believe in "democracy" as in a religion. They believe the cooperatives provide the most "democratic way out of our economic problems. They do not believe in force. They do not believe that people should be forced to join the cooperative movement. They believe that if one can reason enough with people, that they will understand and embrace the cooperative way. In short, they believe in "brotherhood" and in "brotherhood economics."

One obtains the definite impression from conversing with these people that their humanitariansim has almost a deep religious grasp on their lives. They do not enjoy bitter struggles, on the verbal or physical level. They want to understand the other fellow's point of view, and above all be fair. This means they are usually bested in polemics of almost any type.

3: Greenbelt Health Association

The Greenbelt Health Association, GHA, is an organization based on the principle of prepaid medicine. It hires a medical staff for its members. The latter pay small monthly payments to the Association in return for ordinary medical services. The Association is a private

corporation owned and operated by the members, who periodically elect seven directors to run it.

The planners of Greenbelt evnisioned a complete and inexpensive medical program for the town. A detailed scheme was drawn up, embracing medical and dental service, a hospital, clinics, and so forth. The project was to be financed by each family paying a two-dollar monthly fee.[1] However, when Greenbelt opened, the Government withdrew its sponsorship and left the arrangement of medical facilities to citizen initative.

It is reasonable to presume that medical plans were not entirely left to fortuitous circumstances. Among the applicants for entry into the town were some "eager liberals" who had embraced the New Deal philosophy. No doubt some of these were selected because of the probability that they would put their ideas into practice at the first opportunity. Of course, many talked "idealistically" in order to get into Greenbelt, but there was a sufficient number that was willing to expend the time and energy necessary to establish a health cooperative.

In April, 1937, Group Health opened its offices in Washington. It was anxious to see other cooperative health programs initiated. It was willing to and did offer assistance to the new "community" in Maryland. The Twentieth Century Fund also indicated a willingness to help finance such a health program.

Very early a group of interested persons began to draw up the by-laws and constitution of their health association. In the name of the

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[1] A copy of this plan may be found in the files of the GHA.

Association, they were given a "resident medical monopoly" in the town. With the rental of a house, the purchase of some equipment, and the hiring of a doctor, the Association of forty members began to operate in April, 1938.[1]

A business manager was sent down by the 20th Century Fund, with his salary paid for a year. The first Association fee was two dollars a month per family regardless of its size. Non-members could use the facilities, but they were charged regular rates comparable to those charged by private practitioners. The fees were later adjusted to the size of family.

After a few months the first doctor left. A young Catholic doctor, Dr. F. who had just completed his internship was employed. The membership of the Association grew slowly.

At the end of the year the books were audited. It was first whispered and then shouted that the finances were amiss. The doctor and the Catholic treasurer were accused of pocketing funds that belonged to the Association. These accusations were never proved, but it was generally agreed that the "books were not in good shape." The doctor

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[1] Orthodox cooperators insistently point out that Greenbelt does not have system of socialized medicine. The Association is not subsidized by the municipality. Greenbelt's plan is essentially health and medical insurance.

doctor resigned, and so did the treasurer. The former set up his private practice in a nearby town, continuing to service some of his "loyal" patients in Greenbelt. From there he began a campaign villifying "those Jewish communists."[1]

Part-time doctors were hired to bridge the period while another doctor could be employed. The quality of service fell, and so did the membership. The Association was operating at a deficit. Early in 1939, a young Jewish doctor was found by an official of the Farm Security Administration. The new doctor came from a poor background; he was reared in the slums of a northeastern city. Doctor M believed thoroughly in group health and in socialized medicine. He worked very hard and soon convinced people of his abilities. The membership grew to the extent that the services of another doctor were needed. A liberal, midwesterner, Dr. C, was hired. He too was greatly interested in socialized medicine. He liked administrative work especially, and worked well with Dr. M. The membership of the Association grew until it was able to afford the services of a third doctor. Doctor G of "middle-class" Jewish background was hired. Late in 1940 and early in 1941, the membership of the Association reached its peak, embracing almost forty per cent of all the families in town. Of course, it also was servicing non-members.

This was the only time the doctors took an active part in town affairs. Doctor M met with a study-group once a week. This group, composed mostly of Jewish "liberals," discussed political and social problems. Its

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[1] Statement to the author.

members maintained that the doctor was the "most radical" of them all. Doctor C took active interest in the Greenbelt Consumer Services and was elected to its Board of Directors. He did most of the administrative work necessary to establish the town hospital in 1939. Doctor G was active in medical associations advocating group plans.

The Greenbelt "experiment" was attracting national interest in medical circles as an example of a successful experiment in group medicine. Two times "open house" was held. Men, nationally renown as leaders in group health visited Greenbelt, and gave their enthusiastic approval.

Despite this general success, animosities persisted in the organization. Doctor M reacted vigorously in kind to the anti-Association propaganda of the first Dr. F. Some of the Catholics had not forgotten the Association's initial troubles. The Catholic priest denounced the Health Association several times in private, if not on the pulpit. He was especially opposed to the inexpensive birth control information and devices made available by the Association.

Dissentions among the staff members were emerging. Doctor M resented Dr. G's resumption of the administrative work. The former did not like to fill out the forms of the "Bureaucrat," especially since there was no medical directorship or clearly stated lines of authority. Doctor M began to alienate the Catholics, the Board, and the older members of the community by his attention to one of the nurses. Although the latter was not Jewish, she shared Dr. M's political and social views. To the horror of some, Dr. M divorced his wife and married the nurse. This action estranged the town manager who was just beginning to accept the Association as a "good thing." Some said that Dr. M's actions awakened

the manager's anti-semitism, which had been dormant during the "happy era."

The method of paying the doctors provided a source of irritation. According to contracts signed by the doctors, the latter were supposed to treat all Association patients first. They could have a private practice over and above this. All monies, whether from the treatment of Association or private patients were to be given to the Association business manager. He, in turn, was to revert most of it to the doctors in proportion to their amount of private practice. The doctors became envious of each other because some were making more money on private cases. Dr. G's personality made him especially successful in this respect. Charges were hurled that the Association work was neglected "for the lucre of private practice." Some doctors complained that they were given an "undue share" of Association work. Accusations were made that the doctors who were doing "charity work" were being paid for it. The staff also quarrelled about the scheduling of office hours and the amount of "night duty."

In the meantime, the war had broken out. Doctor C, the midwesterner, became weary of the controveries, resigned and joined the army. Doctor M asked for a leave of absence to practice in Alaska and left a month later in May, 1941. Meanwhile Dr. G was accused of operating on a board member free of charge. This matter flared in the open, but the board wishing to avoid trouble, denied the charge in an open letter to the membership. Doctor G demanded a better contract with more money. After agreeing to a contract in principle, he refused to sign it. He submitted the contract to the American Medical Association for approval. Simultane-

ously he demanded that the Association pay some social security taxes, which many thought, according to the law, were to be paid only by physicians . The Association yielded in the matter, and paid the taxes under protest.

The Association was indebted to Group Health in Washington for services rendered. Doctor G insisted that this be paid and the remainder of the Association's surplus be turned over to him. Doctor G had threatened to sue the Association if he did not receive payment. The Treasurer of the Association paid him without the consent of the Board.

The Board demanded that Dr. G sign the contract or resign. The latter refused and challenged the Board's representation of the "membership's mind." The deadlock was finally brought before an open membership meeting. In the meantime, both the doctor and the Board began to "organize the town." In September, 1941, a wild and uncontrolled meeting was held. Heavy pressure from the floor demanded that the Board resign. This the Board finally agreed to do, providing that the dispute would be turned over to the American Arbitration Association for settlement. When the parties agreed to this a new Board was elected, and a compromise contract was arranged.

In the meantime, in an effort to stabilize the Association, the Board of Directors had engaged an old married couple, who had done many years of medical missionary work in China. Doctor G refused to work with the D's, stating that their "horse and buggy medicine was not good for this progressive town." After not heeding the Board's demand that he cooperate, he was asked to resign. This he refused to do. Shortly after the stormy meeting when Dr. G had won an "apparent" victory, the D's

resigned. The membership continued to fall, and the divisions in the town were deepened. It is said that the conflict was carried over into the town elections. Friends became cool, and even the school children fought on the sides of their "daddies." It is difficult to overestimate the fissures caused by this conflict.

In January, 1942 a new, young Dr. H of Jewish extraction was hired by the Association for $3,000 a year. In the meantime the hospital was closed. Since Dr. H was introduced into this confused situation, he turned to Dr. G for information and help. They became fast friends and worked well together. Doctor H identified himself completely with Dr. G and his "cause." After about a year of conflict and unsettled relations in the Health Association, the decision of the Arbitration Association was made public in the latter part of May, 1942. Although the verdict was rendered in favor of the Board on all the main points,[1] it condemned the "hasty actions" on both sides. At this time Dr. G asked for a leave of absence from which he did not return. However, the turmoil did not entirely subside.

Doctor H considered himself a "liberal" in matters of group medicine. His enemies insisted that his association with Dr. G had somewhat altered his views. At any rate, Dr. H struggled as sole doctor for a time, for it became difficult to procure doctors during wartime. Doctor H felt that since he was carrying the entire burden of the work, he was entitled to the medical directorship that had been created, plus extra compensation. He threatened to resign unless the Board acceded to his demands, which it did.

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[1] See Cooperator, May 29, 1942.

The imperative need of the Association was another doctor or two. It was Dr. H's job to procure them. Doctor H hated administrative work, however, and had to be prodded to do it. Some members charged that Dr. H perhaps did not want other doctors in the Association.

By this time, some of the members made moves to rehire Dr. M, who was returning from Alaska. Doctor M had asked for a six-months extension on his leave of absence, but the Board had refused it. Dr. M maintained that since he had not received an answer from the Board he presumed that the extension had been granted. He maintained he had a legal right to the job. A few of his former patients and friends began to circulate a petition asking the Board to hire him. At last the Board did so, but paid no attention to the feelings of Dr. H on the matter.

Dr. H had assimilated Dr. G's antagonism toward Dr. M. He suggested that Dr. G "had something on M," and he knew what that "something" was. He threatened not to accept or cooperate with Dr. M. He circulated the notion that Dr. M had been asked to leave a medical school because of "mental instability," that his internship record was "spotty," and that he knew little about X-ray and so forth. The nurses, who had constituted a strong unifying and stabilizing force in the Association at this time, convinced Dr. H that it would be best to change his attitude, for "his own good and for the good of the Association."

At this time a business manager was employed by the Association. He was to play a leading role in future Association affairs. Just before, Dr. M arrived, the actions of Dr. H were exemplary for about four months. Dr. M did not like being under the authority of a younger

man who, he felt, to be less competant than he, and intellectually inferior. On many occasions he berated the way Dr. H was handling the town's public health program. He also told some of his patients that Dr. M was not prescribing correctly. Dr. M's manner of speaking was tinged with sarcasm. It was difficult for people to distinguish sarcasm and sincerity in him. The relations between the two doctors became very strained. The business manager charged that Dr. M had been withholding funds that belonged to the Association. Dr. M denied the rather cogent charge, when called before the Board. He suggested that the doctors should not accept money from the patients. The Board pointed out that this system would result in the non-members defaulting on their debts. The matter was dismissed, and the Board gave Dr. M a year's contract. This infuriated the business manager.

A new Board had been elected that had much sympathy for the business manager. At this time, the Association had 500 members and its finances were sound. Doctor M's new contract did not please Dr. H, and the latter kept demanding a larger salary. Doctor M was as adament on obtaining equal status with Dr. H, by abolishing the position of the Medical Directorship.

To add to the strained relations, Dr. M had ordered a book for the Association without the formal approval of Dr. H, the Medical Director. At the same time, Dr. M was charged with neglecting to treat a serious case when he was "on duty." He was asked to appear before the Board to account for his actions. He refused to do this and threatened to resign. Since resigning had become a habit with Dr. M, it was difficult to determine whether this was a threat or a valid intention. However, Dr. H released

Dr. M's statement to the Cooperator, and Dr. M was put into the position of resigning or submitting to the Board. Dr. M resigned with a threat to sue the Association on several counts, . . . The staff relations of the Association deteriorated almost completely. The nurses had to act as intermediaries between the doctors, for the latter would not even consult on routine medical matters. The conflict was now one of personalities, and the real issues, if any, became buried in the personality conflicts. One last attempt to settle differences failed.

Another violent membership meeting was held.[1] The doctors insulted one another openly. Some members tried to make the Board retract its "vicious allegations" that Dr. M was uncooperative, while others made attempts to get the Board to rehire Dr. M. In the course of the uncontrolled meeting, most of the Board resigned and new members were elected. A formal motion was passed that the Board retract its "vicious allegations" concerning Dr. M. At the same meeting, a motion was passed thanking the Board for its "good work" in attempting to solve the dilemma. The contradictory motions disclosed the lack of knowledge of the membership of the real issues and their overpowering desire to have the Association continue to function. Dr. M left after securing a formal apology. Dr. H was again sole doctor for the Association.

Early in 1944, the business manager charged that Dr. M had been

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[1] Dr. M personally circulated absentee ballots to his patients before the election, asking them "to exercise their democratic prerogative." This was in open violation to the spirit of balloting. It was discovered that more absentee ballots were cast rather than "attendance" ballots.

withholding funds belonging to the Association. He reported this to the Board and then resigned because of policy differences with Dr. M. The latter wanted salary increases and threatened to resign periodically if he did not receive them. He also wanted to raise service charges to the members. He also opposed spending money for the laboratory. There was constant disagreement on the number of office hours Dr. H should hold. The manager thought that Dr. H was not trying very hard to secure new doctors; indeed, he may have dissuaded prospects from accepting positions. Although two part-time doctors had been obtained, their services were insufficient to meet the needs. The membership of the Association continued to decrease.

As time went on, the Board felt that it could not act without the advice and consent of the membership on major problems. Doctor H again threatened to resign unless his salary was augmented considerably. Faced with the prospect of no doctor, the membership moved to grant his demands. The future of the organization depended upon securing more doctors. In the spring of 1944, the administration lifted its ban on private doctors residing in Greenbelt. Dr. H resigned and notified he would begin private practice in the town. The Association hired a new doctor, and began plans to compete with Dr. M, hoping perhaps to persuade him to leave town.

(b) Analysis. (1) The Health Association in Greenbelt has experienced more "turmoil" than any other "community-wide" organization. The reasons for this, though many, are not very clear. Theories, however, are not lacking. It has been suggested that the Jewish-Catholic conflict has centered in the Association; and that the conflict between the religious groups in town "just happened" to focus on the Association. It is true

that the Jews are "overrepresented" in interest and in number in the Health Association.[1] Most observers agree that this due to the fact that the Jews are more "liberal" or "radical" or "crackpot," depending on the prejudices and attitudes of the observers. That the Jews embrace more readily this type of plan is not debatable.

Perhaps more important is the fact that the Association has never had more than forty per cent of the families in Greenbelt as members. This may indicate a lack of interest in such an organization, or even positive distrust. The fact that it had a resident medical monopoly served to prod this distrust. For example, some Catholics did not like the Association, yet they had to use it, a fact that irritated them. The doctors hired by the Association have been, on the whole, of Jewish extraction. The doctors interested in this type of plan are few. The Jewish doctors, especially if recruited from lower economic classes, may have found it a little more difficult to establish practices. Consequently it was probably easier for them to become somewhat alienated from the folkways of the medical profession. Poor and idealistic, they would tend to look rather favorably on such a plan of medical services as Greenbelt offered. The Association naturally wanted not only qualified doctors, but those who believed in group-health plans. Almost all of the

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[1] Eighteen per cent of the members of the Association in 1942 were of Hebraic faith, while only ten per cent of the town's families were Jewish. An analysis of the Board of Directors shows that the number of Jewish members have fluctuated. Three boards had no elected Jewish members one board had one Jewish member, and another had two.

~~of the~~ doctors it hired believed in group health. They felt they could advance themselves rapidly in this new field, as well as serve humanity. Almost all of them suscribed to such periodicals as the New Republic, In-Fact, P. M., The Cooperator, (Brooklyn) and to other periodicals which leaned further to the "left."

(2) There has been little evidence shown that the people would not "accept" these doctors. Most Greenbelters believed that their doctors were "very capable and good men." In fact, the readiness of patients to accept their doctors as infallible in medical and administrative matters, has been a source of irritation to the Boards. The Boards have found it difficult to persuade the members that laymen could be as expert, if not more expert than the doctors on non-medical administrative and financial affairs of their Association.

The members have not wanted to recognize the ruptures between the Boards and staffs. When the former complain to the members that the doctors do not live up to the rules, the retort usually is, "But he's a good doctor." The members want "good service" primarily and "ideals" secondarily. The Boards, however, are insistent that the spirit and principle of cooperatives should not be ignored. They also believe that their constitutional rights should not be infringed upon. Whenever the Boards and members conflict on crucial issues, the Boards are usually repudiated. This results in giving the doctors more power than the governing policy of the Association intends. It also has the effect of making the Boards "unsure," of themselves, of their authority, and of the feeling of the membership.

The Boards have been very jealous of their authority. Some directors have obviously relished managing the affairs of doctors who are superior to them in status and occupation. Such activity has boosted their self-

esteem, and has given them a sense of power in directing the affairs of others.

The real problems of the Association are not those which arise from contact of doctors or the Board with the membership. They are largely Board-staff differences, and intra-staff differences. These have been briefly indicated above.

(3) The doctors that the Association employed were not the "typical" ones. They were on the whole people of "liberal," social, political, and economic views. They were interested "in combining science and society." But more than this, they were interested in their professional careers. They wanted time to learn, experiment, and study. Especially, they sought to escape the routine duties of the "ordinary" doctor, and the chronic ennervations resulting from such practice. What they desired was surplus time and energy to "develop." They did not want to worry about financial affairs. They hoped and believed a cooperative health and medical plan would give them a chance to achieve their medical ambitions.

Needless to say, they did not realize all of their aspirations in the Greenbelt organization. They found that much of their time was spent in doing small, detailed routines. They disliked the ubiquitous bureaucratic details of the corporation. Most of all, they found that they did not have the spare time to study and experiment. Even when they had the time, they found that the organization was too small to provide the laboratory and equipment necessary. Although the doctors had no expenses, they considered their pay too low to subsidize their study plans. Since the organization was small, the rate of advancement was necessarily slow.

Apart from these conditions, some of the doctors felt that the lay Boards could not understand them or their problems. They thought that

that their security was contingent on the "whims" of the lay Boards. Oddly enough, the practical experience they expected was not forthcoming. Little, if anything of unusual medical interest happened in the town. The town was inhabited by young, healthy, well-fed people, who knew rather well how to take care of themselves physically. Not much imagination but much time was needed to treat colds and childhood diseases. The few cases of syphilis that erupted aroused so much interest and gossip that it was necessary to send the patients elsewhere. The volunteer workers would not keep the "medical secrets." In short, the anonymity of urban areas was absent in Greenbelt.

Dispensing medical care as a commodity requires delicacy in interpersonal relations. If conflicts were to arise, one would expect them to be intense and personalized.[1] When the doctors first entered Greenbelt they were so busy they did not have time to consider some of the "deficiencies in the situation." When the work became routinized, petty conflicts emerged, such as questioning whether one was "on duty," or on "night call" more than any other. The staff was not large enough for competition to be impersonal. It was "politic" to play up to the Board to get raises faster than one's colleague, and so forth.

Unwittingly, the doctors found that conflicts of the past were thrust upon them; that town affairs affected them, whether or not they participated. At times, the liberal Jewish doctors berated some of their more ortho-

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[1] One woman complained, "It's so one can't get a family doctor here. Just when I get the confidence of a doctor he goes away. I like Dr. H because he's my doctor, almost like the family doctor back home. I hope he stays."

dox patients. It was alleged that the "intellectual" Dr. M, was solicitous of who shared his ideological inclinations, but he despised those who disagreed with him. He flattered the intelligent housewife who followed his pediatric instructions implicitly, but was impatient with the dullards."

The Jews were split in their attitudes toward Dr. M, and Mrs. M entertained considerably; she was very careful whom she chose to associate with. Those in her circle considered themselves socially superior. The uninvited were inclined to dislike the M's and favor the Board.

(4) It is noteworthy that the conflicts in the Health Association arose when other organizations were also exhibiting fissures. It is the considered opinion of observers that had not the conflicts erupted late in 1942 and early in 1943 in the Health Association, that other organizations would have experienced a period of turmoil. In a sense, the Health Association focused, and at the same time drained off, the tensions generated by conflicts in other organizations. A hypothesis to account for the high tension level follows.

CHAPTER X

ANALYSIS OF PARTICIPATION TRENDS AND POLICY CHANGES

In analyzing the changes in such organizations as the Council, the Consumers' Services, and the Health Association, we have noticed that changes in the intensity of participation, and in the direction of policy have occurred. This chapter seeks to develop explanations of these changes. Some hints have been offered above, but here we shall summarize and generalize them.

When the town first opened, a great deal of organizational work was needed to bind the people together for their special interests, as well as for their general interests. It was the aim of the Farm Security Agency to encourage "community" activity as much as possible. The agency envisioned the theme for Greenbelt that the general interests should take precedence over individual interests. This was to be experiment in community planning.

Since the town had no traditions or organizations, it was necessary to create organizations in and through which the ideals of "community living" might be realized. The Agency made sure that it selected at least some people who appreciated its objectives, and who were willing to expend time and effort to create and operate the machinery and associations to realize its goals.

The new residents were anxious to enter the organizational activity of the town. Much organizational work had to be done, and the efforts of all were needed, accepted, and appreciated. Many of the new residents had never participated in such organizations, and the new

experience was a thrill. The general enthusiasm resulted in an over-elaborate organizational structure.[1] This fact was not evident at first. In the beginning, new officers were constantly chosen and changed. New committees were formed for this and that special or "community" interest. Slowly the number of executives and "leaders" diminished. The work that needed to be done was increasingly of a routine nature, for the basic social organization had been created. The need for "drone" work continued, but the number of officerships remained constant or actually decreased.

For example the Committee of Forty was actively engaged in directing and organizing the GCS. It was replaced by a Board of Directors of nine, and a few committees headed by the board members. The Health Association, with its multitude of committees, was replaced by a Board of seven and less than five committees headed by the board members. The same applied for the Citizen's Association. It's integrative function decreased as new organizations were firmly established. In short, the chances of obtaining office decreased and consequently the chances of status decreased. This was aggravated by the fact that officers tended to remain in office.

Under these conditions, the focus tended to shift to the conduct of routine affairs and to matters of petty policy. Around such situations,

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[1] This may be the typical pattern in planned communities. The was the experience of Radburn, New Jersey and other "garden cities." See Hudson, op.cit.

personal animosities had a greater opportunity to develop.[1] The emphasis moved from differences in policy to differences in administration and organizational effectiveness. People who worked under bureaucratic conditions could, it seemed, and did become very sensitive to actions that did not measure up to the ideals of administrative efficiency. Since the status structure began to harden, it was only by attacking it that attention could be gained. Either one attacked or dropped out of the status struggle. That a large number dropped out of the latter path, is evident when one examines and reviews the participation records of some people. As one officer said, "In looking over some old records, I was amazed to see how active some of our present 'deadheads' were in the early days."

One can, of course, explain the decrease in participation and the shift of interest from policy to administration, in terms of the natural history of organizations.[2] This approach tends to ignore the psychological motives for participation, and suggests that people do not enjoy participation. They do so out of a sense of obligation to "make the community more effective in reaching its goals." Most Greenbelters admit that they enjoyed the early active participation,

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[1] The enormous amount of antagonism generated by differences of opinion about precedent, procedure, order, and so forth, leads one to suspect the conditions of work of these people, who are largely engaged in minute administrative details, are transferred to the organizational activity in the town.

[2] For example, some writers maintain that organizations arise as response to "needs." In the anxiety to meet them, "overorganization" results. Then the organization goes through a formalistic stage, due to the fact that it does not adjust to changing conditions. The next stage is either decay, reorganization, or revival. See Sanderson and Polson, op. cit.

even though they "did not spend more than two nights a week at home." They suggest that the reason why they "slowed down" was because they "became disgusted how things were going." No doubt, some were disappointed that their ideals were not being realized, but other forces were operating.

When the residents first moved to the town en masse, they were not acquainted with the townspeople. It was almost mandatory for them to participate in meetings and organizations, if they were to make any "social" contacts outside of the neighborhood ones. Although there was the tendency for neighbors to be in the same organizations at first, when the Citizens' Association dominated the town, the tendency became less evident as separate organizations became independent of that body. Thus people tended to form friendship patterns on the basis of their interest in the cooperatives, the Health Association, the Athletic Association, or other organizations. In the next chapter, we shall indicate the sociological functions of the smaller associations in the town. But the important thing to emphasize here is that people began to seek each other out on the basis of special organizational interest, rather than general or neighborhood interests. Thus it became increasingly possible for people to become estranged from one another.

Many of the earlier special-interest organizations gradually became motivated by "social" reasons, rather than by the interest itself. An intensive analysis of small special-interest associations exhibited this tendency. The cases of the defunct Radio Club and Camera Club are typical. At first there was an intense interest in these hobbies. Gradually, "social affairs and social hours" became part of the organizations' rituals. This irritated some who were interested mainly in

the pursuit of the hobby. These tended to drop out of the organizations and pursued their hobbies in isolation, or forgot them. For a while the organization would continue, with the mimimum of hobby interest and the maximum of social interest. Then the formal organization would collapse and become disseminated into friendship patterns. At times, reorganizations were attempted, and the same cycle would be repeated.

In this way, "social" contacts replaced organizational ones, in part at least. Many began to feel that it was only necessary to attend certain general membership meetings. It is not surprising then, that popular knowledge of the organizations diminished. Also, the tendency for lack of contact between the boards and the members increased. Consequently, general impatience with the boards arose, especially when "the issues" were not clearly understood.

Another series of factors account for the decrease in participation particularly in the realm of entertainment and recreation. When the families first moved to Greenbelt, there was little or no material equipment for group diversion and entertainment. Consequently imagination had to be substituted for equipment. The men interested in baseball cleared a field, purchased a few balls, made a league, and played every evening. Watchers soon became players or boosters. These who had other interests accommodated accordingly.

The Citizens' Association recognized the need for entertainment and diversion. As the over-all organization of the town, it arranged activities to meet the need. In time, special organization arose to satisfy the particular need for special types of recreation and entertainment. These included the Athletic clubs, the Bowling Leagues,

the Gun clubs, and other such associations which are described in the following chapter.

Through the Education Committee of the Citizens' Association, the residents arranged discussion groups and forums. These depression-bred people were gravely concerned with national and international problems. Although, at times, the manager showed his displeasure with these politically-tinged groups, the latter fomented considerable interest in the town.[1]

Other special-interest, self-entertaining groups arose, such as a dramatic club, a cheral group, an orchestra, debating societies, and other organizations. Since the usual urban facilities for entertainment and recreation were lacking, the residents had to provide their own substitutes.

For example, the dramatic club put on several three act plays in the theatre before it was opened for the use of commercial movies. Attendence at the plays was heavy and enthusiatic. However, when the movie-theatre opened, interest in the dramatic club tended to subside. The coops could not brook a loss in patronage. Sufficient rehearsal space was lacking, for the auditorium was used by the athletic and other citizen groups. Also internal squables began to develop in the organizations.

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[1] Some of the old-time members of such groups blame the manager for the collapse of their organizations. By denying them space in the community building and constantly warning them about danger of "communist speakers," he restricted their activity.

In the next stage Greenbelters started dropping out of these organizations and going to Washington in order to purchase their entertainment. Thus there were four stages in the recreational pattern. At first, there was informal spontaneous recreation and entertainment. Later town-wide groups centralized these function. The next stage was for special-interest groups to take over some particular form of recreation and entertainment. The last stage was the commercialization of recreation and entertainment by purchasing it in Washington. This became increasingly possible as the economic condition of the residents improved. This does not mean that the special-interest organizations have disappeared, but it is certain that they no longer monopolize the entertainment and recreational resources the citizens have at their disposal.

We cannot overemphasize that in the early days, the people were forced to rely on their own resources. They had to organize to amuse themselves and to get acquainted. Since at that time Greenbelters were poorly paid, they could not afford to use the commercialized recreational facilities of Washington and the nearby areas. When their economic position improved, they visited the commercialized areas, such as the bowling halls, night clubs,[1] the theatres, the professional ball games, and others.

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[1] There are no commercial dine, dance, and drinking places in Greenbelt. It is noted "escape" types of entertainment draw people away from the town. It is quite evident that those organizations in Greenbelt that do provide these facilities are very vigorous and in excellent financial condition. The social function of these association is considered in the following chapter.

Another factor operated to reduce participation. Early Greenbelters were, on the whole, routine clerical workers. Although many considered their jobs uninteresting, they tolerated them because they felt that the income was steady, and that they were fortunate to be employed. The routineness of their occupations did not impose extra work responsibilities. With the coming of the War, however, chances for promotions increased. It became evident that advances would become available to qualified personnel. Some of the younger people turned their energies and attention from Greenbelt organizations to their work and to study. They began to bring work home. This meant that there was less and less time available for recreation and participation. This altered somewhat the policies of the organization, for a different types of people began to assume control. Some who had advanced in salary and occupation had to leave town, because of the salary limitations that were in operation. Among these, were leaders of some of the organizations.

One other possible factor that may have changed both the amount and character of the participation, was the attitude of the supervising agency. Especially after the "defense" homes were built around original Greenbelt, the federal authorities began to regard Greenbelt less as a "demonstration cummunity project," and more as a housing project. This affected the organizational life of the town rather indirectly but surely.

Commercialized recreation, occupational mobility, and uneven participation are thus factors that made for decrease of participation, for estrangement between boards and memberships, and for shifts in type of policy.

These trends occurred in the larger organizations as well as in the smaller associations. These latter will now be briefly described.

CHAPTER XI

SOME SMALLER VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

There are many other smaller organizations in which Greenbelters participate. It is impossible to present a detailed account of all of them here. We shall, however, outline the history and function of some associations which have been more stable and influential. Often participation in these organizations is more personal and intense than in the larger ones. Participation in them is more likely to be motivated by a more narrow or more specialized interest.

First we shall describe the smaller cooperatives in Greenbelt. When the larger cooperatives were being organized, ~~the cooperatives were being organized,~~ the cooperative idea was taken and applied to other spheres of interest. Apart from the consumer groups such as the Better Buyers' Club, other organizations arose which espoused in toto or in part, cooperative principles of organization. These included the towns weekly, The Greenbelt Cooperator, The Greenbelt Credit Union, The Greenbelt Nursery School, The Greenbelt Home Owners' Cooperative, and others. We shall describe these first and then proceed to the other special-interest associations.

1: The Smaller Cooperatives.

(a) The Greenbelt Cooperator claimed the distinction of being the only incorporated cooperative news sheet in the nation. Within a few months after Greenbelt opened, several people interested in writing formed "The Journalistic Club". They early decided to publish a weekly newspaper.

On November 24, 1937 they published the first copy of the Greenbelt Cooperator, and have not missed an issue since. Later the Journalistic Club dissolved itself and became an incorporated body.

The first editors and reporters of the newspaper were sincere "cooperators." They featured news items on the cooperatives, and urged the people to support them to the fullest. The whole paper had a "liberal" slant. It published articles that concerned themselves with economic and social conditions. It reported congressional debates, and gave its views on them. The "isolationist-interventionist" pre-war debate was covered by its sheets. Pointed editorials also focused on local and national problems, and offered "liberal" solutions.

All this should not suggest that the entire town agreed with the ideas and ideals of The Cooperator. The spirited letters to the editors indicated the presence of an "opposition". The policy of the paper was to be "neutral" except in cooperative affairs, which it openly espoused. That it took a systematic "liberal" approach cannot be denied however.

For the first three or four years, the paper did not run into personnel problems. At one time about one hundred people considered themselves officially or semi-officially as members of the staff. Everyone wanted to write, and there was no undersupply of copy.

Of course, the paper was and is supported by advertisements.[1] A bulk of this was provided by the Coops, but suppliers of the cooperative also contributed advertising space.

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[1] Five cents a copy was the price of the paper for the first two years, but it was later distributed to all families free of charge.

The format of the paper improved, from a mimeographed pamphlet, to a photostat offset, to a printed booklet, to a printed two-sheet. Regardless of the format, athletic news filled almost one quarter of the space.

Usually a small profit was shown at the end of the year. This was spent on a "blow-out picnic". The whole staff was invited to a party or to a picnic where everything, including beer was available. Then another year's work would commence.

As with other organizations, as time elapsed, the enthusiasm of the staff decreased. Editors were changed annually or more frequently than that. One result of this was a breakdown in the continuity of the editorial policy. Feature articles with socio-economic-political import appeared less periodically. Increasingly, the focus of the paper became purely local; announcing meetings, reporting on the results of meetings, and covering sports thoroughly. A "failure of nerve" was evident in the hesitancy to print local news of a controversial nature. As mentioned elsewhere, the editors became hesitant about reporting any cleavages or divisions in the town. As a result, it played a smaller role in leading "public opinion."

By the early part of 1944, the paper was reduced to covering news and meetings of local and county affairs. It was difficult to secure a staff that would put in the time and effort required. Advertising fell off as well. This latter fact actually threatened the existence of the paper. The paper was moved from its lethargy by coming out against the managers of the cooperative and incentive contracts. This created a rift in the editorial board which may not be repaired.

Only one meeting a year is held to vote dividends and elect board members. The quorum of fifteen has been hard to get. This is odd in view of the fact that in 1943 there were 700 members in the Union. Apparently, the membership is satisfied with the conduct of its business which has lent since its inception over $200,000 in over 2,000 individual loans.

Greenbelters have invested $38,000 in their bank up to August, 1943. Ten thousand dollars are used to make loans, and the remainder is invested in government bonds and in the Federal Building and Loan Association. The Union has earned consistently at least three per cent on its investments, and has returned to its members dividends from two and one-half to five per cent. This rate of return is understandable when one notes the rate of interest on loans is one per cent a month on unpaid balances. Although interest rates of large banks are smaller, the GCU is popular because it is convenient and opened evenings. Furthermore, "character loans" up to $100.00 may be gotten almost irrespective of one's credit standing. This trust has been well-founded, for the amount of "bad loans losses" have been very small for a resident agency. The GCU has helped to establish the credit standing of many residents.

As suggested, this Cooperative has had a smooth unturbulent career, when compared to the others in the town. It had a "scare thrown into it" when the Administration threatened to evict those who exceeded the income limit . Since most of these were members of the Union the financial structure of the cooperative would have been ruined had they been evicted. The officers of the Union were relieved when the Administration changed its mind.

(b) Greenbelt Credit Union. The Greenbelt Credit Union is the town's cooperative bank. A member can deposit or borrow money from it, as is possible in other banking institutions. At the end of the year the profits of the organization, from loans, are returned to the investors (shareholders) in proportion to his shares. Shares of five dollars each are limited, one-hundred at the maximum per member. Regardless of the number of shares, the holder has only one vote in the organization's affairs.

The GCU is the oldest cooperative in Greenbelt, charted in December, 1937. When the town first opened the residents felt the inconvenience of having no banking facilities. Five or six people who rode to work together suggested that a Credit Union similar to one in the Department of Agriculture be founded. They appointed themselves a committee to investigate the problem. Unexpected success met them, and inside of a month they had chartered the first resident Credit Union in the country.[1]

This organization has shown great stability. It is operated by a board of seven directors popularly elected, and by a paid part-time assistant treasurer. The board, however, appoints a nominating committee which has seen fit to renominate continually. Thus there has been a very slow turnover in boards.

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[1] The Federal Credit Union was established by Act of Congress, June 26, 1934. It was designed to help "the little fellow" get easier credit. It was aimed at undermining the "credit sharks", by giving those who had not established credit standing at larger banks a better chance to obtain credit. In 1942, the Federal Credit Union was absorbed into the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

The number and size of loans and deposits have fluctuated. In the beginning the Union made more loans. In fact, it once had to borrow from another Union to meet demands on loans. Today, it no longer advertises for deposits. It is waiting for the war to end so that the curtailments on credit will be released, and people will be able to make larger purchases.

The officers of the cooperative are proud of their organization. Their outstanding joke is that the organization has bought three-quarters of the babies in Greenbelt. Birth and transportation have been the two "problems" in Greenbelt, and they feel they have "licked both". Besides, loans for medical expenses and automobiles, the Union has lent money for the purpose of consolidating debts, purchasing furniture, paying for education, vacations, and income taxes, in that approximate order.

The officers are aware that their organization is no longer "small fry". They take their work seriously, operate their financial affairs in the best conservative tradition, and are waiting until "after the war".

(c) The Greenbelt Nursery School. The Greenbelt Nursery School is a cooperative nursery school for three and four-year-olds, under the direction of the mothers. A dozen mothers in Greenbelt tried for four years to start a nursery school, but were unsuccessful. The aid of the Director of Adult Education of the town was enlisted and the nursery was established in 1942. The Administration provides four apartments, rent free, for the use of the school. This made it possible to keep the cost of operation down to about five dollars a child per month.

The parents of the children constitute a board of supervision. From among them, officers are elected to carry on the wishes of the board. The mothers alternate helping the teacher run the school. The fathers build some of the necessary equipment, and keep it in good repair.

A full-time teacher was hired by the board who had specialized in cooperative methods of infant pedagogy. The whole theory behind the school is that children should learn to live and play together early in life. By combining the resources of home training and that of an expert teacher, the child's social development is hastened. Another primary object is to teach the children creative skills.

Many mothers in Greenbelt look askance at the Nursery School. The thought that a strange teacher can offer their children more than they themselves during these formative years is revolting to them. They feel that, "All children need is lots of food and affection at this age, and the schools take them early enough anyway".

The women who send their children to the nursery school value education highly. They tend to endorse the "progressive education" system employed in grade school. As a group, they are regarded by others as "a little snobbish and queer".

With the coming of the war, some mothers have sent their children to the school, not because they believe in its principles of education, but because it is the only place that the children may be taken care of inexpensively while they go to work.

(d) Home Owners' Cooperative. Very early it became evident that some of the residents of Greenbelt would have to move out because they were exceeding the income limits allowed by the Farm Security Administration. Some of them decided very early that they liked Greenbelt, and wanted to reside there permanently. They approached the FSA officials with the proposal that they be allowed to build in Greenbelt. Their original thought was to buy a sector of land cooperatively and to build on it cooperatively. Some people who resided outside of Greenbelt became interested in the project.

FSA refused to sell land, but agreed to grant the group a ninety-nine year lease. This proviso proved acceptable, and the group then decided to incorporate under the title, "Greenbelt Home Owners' Cooperative." Their plan was to obtain a lease for a tract of land in the name of the cooperative, and later sub-lease sections to the interested individuals. The reason for this was to insure that prospective builders would follow the general plans laid out by the group. They were anxious to (1) avoid the unimaginative type of building seen in urban areas, and (2) to follow the Greenbelt architectural scheme as far as possible. The big difference would be that these homes were to be individual units, instead of the row-houses typical of Greenbelt. The FSA gave its approval to their general plans.

Since the Greenbelters did not have much money saved, it became a problem how they would and could finance this housing project. It was decided to work through the Federal Housing Authority, which was guaranteeing loans to banks up to ninety per cent of the cost of building. The plan was to build houses that would cost approximately six thousand

dollars. This meant that the builders had to make six-hundred dollars down payment, plus one to two hundred for other expenses. Federal Housing Authority agreed to guarantee mortgages in principle, but would not deal with the cooperative. It wanted to deal with the individual builder directly, and not through the intermediary of the cooperative. A year passed, altering plans acceptable to the FHA. Finally its permission was secured.

Meanwhile the cooperative had contracted an architect to proceed to make plans for the houses, utilities, lots, and so forth. His plans were rather modern, emphasizing the blending of the houses to the natural terrain. Two basic plans were evolved with enough variation to give each home an individual appearance. The Farm Security Administration would not allow building to begin until twenty people had deposited their money for the actual building. But the house designs of Hale Walker, the Architect for Greenbelt, did not meet the approval of the Federal Housing Authority. The latter did not like the "radical" design of the houses. It maintained that unusual designs in homes were poor financial risks, for in case mortgages were not met, prospective buyers might not like the unorthodox patterns. It wanted a more conservative, box-like house, the resalability of which they were more certain.

The cooperative found it difficult to get twenty people to "put up their money" when they did not have the assurances of the FHA. Prospects wanted more guarantee that they would be able to build at once without "hitches." A year-old struggle with the FHA ensued, until a compromise was reached. The design could be retained, but the Agency would only guarantee up to eighty per cent of the mortgage. It was evident that the

Agency did not regard the risk as being good. The agency was dominated by men who took the point of view of businessmen toward building. It was difficult for the cooperative to find twenty people who had accumulated twenty per cent of the cost of building. With extra expenses this meant that about fourteen hundred dollars were needed. The Federal Housing Authority agreed to guarantee up to ninety per cent of the mortgage if the group would build on a site outside of Greenbelt. In this way, they would save the cost ofpaying for ordinary utilities, and the saleability of their houses would be more assured in the "more favorable location." A few leaped at the idea, but the majority was opposed.

When it appeared that twenty people could pay the necessary twenty per cent, the war broke out. It was difficult to obtain materials for building. Some of the members began to migrate to better jobs elsewhere, and some were drafted. The lease given to the corporation lapsed, and efforts to renew it were unsuccessful. Although there will be attempts to revive the idea after the war, most of the members regard their experience rather bitterly. Apart from the disappointments, they have lost about two hundred dollars each.

From the very beginning the cooperative worked over the town manger's head, directly with the agencies involved. The members maintained that the manager was never enthusiastic about their plans. In fact, they thought he was opposed to it. According to the president of the cooperative, "It was another one of those things that he could not get his hands on and control. It would be something that would add to his administrative worries. Besides he did not like the people in it."

The members of this cooperative were in fact opposed to the manager. Although the latter maintained that what the "community" needed was stability, "something to tie it down," he did not want certain "elements" to constitute the cementing force. The members of the corporation were ardent cooperators. They were composed of those who believed in the cooperatives as a philosophy. Had they succeeded in building they would have had, perhaps, a disproportionate share of their numbers on the boards of the cooperatives. Besides being bound by ideological ties, they would have been bound by neighborhood and organizational ties. They would have assured the retention of the ideological aspects of the cooperatives.

The manager never openly opposed this cooperative. Some of the members, however, felt that he bore them no good-will. They claimed that had he helped in bargaining with the federal agencies, the prospects of success would have been much greater.

2: Special Interest Associations

(a) The American Legion. At one of the early Citizen' Association meetings, four World War veterans recognized one another as comrades by the American Legion pins they were wearing on their coat lapels. They immediately began to suggest the possibility of organizing a Greenbelt Post. The town manager, himself a Legionnaire, was sympathetic, and as early as November, 1937, twenty-two ex-servicemen met in his office and organized the Post.

Members of the Legion spotted an unoccupied farm house on Greenbelt property, about a half mile from the town square. They petitioned the

Manager and Farm Security Officials for its use, and obtained a five year lease, which allowed them to do anything they wished with the structure. The "Home" was remodelled at the cost of $2,000, apart from the labor donated by the members. A dance floor was made, meetings rooms were furnished, a canteen was equipped, and other alterations were made. It has been rumored that the Administration played favorites by providing some materials, apart from the fact that the Legion was not charged rent.

Much of the cost for remodelling the Home was secured by the annual sale of the town directory, prepared and published by the Legion. Also, proceeds were secured from dances.

The Legion has lived up to one of its tenants, to be interested in community affairs. It elected two members to the first town council, and has had one member on it ever since. It also had members on the board of the GCS. Legionnaires don't formally put up "slates" for such offices. The members merely vote for any of their comrades who happen to run for office. A block of fifty, plus that of their wives (American Legion Auxiliary) can assure almost any candidate an office.

The Legion has engaged in other "community" activities, such as supplying six of the surrounding schools with indoor and outdoor flags as the occasion warrants. It also has an available supply of the Constitution of the United States with which to furnish these schools. The Legion also provides libraries with free subscription of their periodical, The Legionnaire. Awards in the form of citizenship medals are given to boys and girls of these six schools who exemplify the finest attributes of

American youth. No Negro school is included in the list.

The Legion organized and equipped Boy Scout troops in the town. It donated sixteen pup tents and two large tents to the Scouts besides providing similar equipment for a Sea Scout troop. Legion members are "ashamed" of the fact that they have had to reorganize the Boy Scouts three times, in view of the fact that there are six Girl Scout troops in the town that have been very vigorous. The Legion's interest in youth was also signified by the fact that it organized and equipped a junior baseball team in the town. It also sponsored a soap box derby.

The veterans have assumed responsibility for arranging observances of national holidays in Greenbelt. They have conducted services of Memorial Day, Independence Day, and Armistice Day. They even sponsored the President's Birthday Ball.

Earlier, the Legion put on plays in the Community Theater, but with the coming of the movies, this activity was dropped. It also built a booth at the Town Fair, which consisted mostly of World War I fighting equipment and flags.

The Legion says that one of its main purposes is to get behind any organization in the town that contributes to the "community welfare." Thus it has contributed to the citizens' welfare fund, the United Service Organizations, Civilian Defense Fund, Red Cross, and other "causes."

When the war broke out, the members of the Legion immediately joined many of the Civilian Defense activities. With time, the "community activities" of the Legion have decreased, while its "social function" for its members has increased.

Only about one-half of the members of the Legion attend the business meetings regularly. The latter are apparently so ritualized and formalized, that the members are anxious to get them out of the way. After each meeting a social hour is in order. The canteen is opened, where one may purchase food and beer. The men sit around the rest of the evening playing cards and "shooting the bull." Due to the lack of such facilities in Greenbelt, the men appreciate the opportunity for such a congregating place.

On weekends, parties and dances are held at the Legion home. The Auxiliary will, on occasion, prepare a supper and arrange entertainment for the group. Friendship patterns have been made through Legion contacts, and they are kept up through the organization and outside of it. On warm summer evenings, the Legionnaires will informally congregate at the town-common to smoke and talk. There can be no doubt that the function ofthe Legion for many is to satisfy the need for male companionship.

On the whole, its influence tends to be a conservative one. Apart from the fact, that it represents an older group, the "liberals" suggest that most of its members share the typical attitudes of the national body in socio-political affairs. On the whole, the Legion has been sympathetic with the Adminstration in town governmental affairs, and with ~~the~~ the managers of the cooperatives in cooperative affairs. Most of its members regard the "liberals" and the cooperators as a little "radical," "queer", "socialistic", or "crackpot".

A "liberal" being shown a list of members of the Legion remarked, "There's only one man out of its membership of fifty who believes in cooperatives, or who could be called a 'liberal'."

Legion members rarely suggest policies in reference to the

cooperatives; they tend to acts as a restraining influence on some of the "liberals." As time has gone by, the Legion has had a more direct influence in town affairs.

The organization is one of the most stable in the town. Fully one half of its original charter members still reside in Greenbelt. They provide continuity to the organization and to the town activities. The members of the Legion are, of course, older men. When they moved into Greenbelt, their occupational climbing was nearing its end. Most had also probably reached their income zenith. Fewer of them were affected, therefore, by the income ceilings, or the threat of income ceilings being applied. Of course, when the war came, they were not affected by the draft.

Although at the beginning the younger "liberal" elements in the town, did hold the initiative of action and influence, As they moved out and up,due to various reasons, the older, more stable element in the town, which included the Legionnaires tended to take over control. Legion members suggest that things are more settled and sane now.

(b) The Athletic Association. Early in 1938, the Athletic Association was organized. It was the natural outgrowth of play patterns. When Greenbelt was first occupied, there were no organized recreation facilities. A group of young men made a make-shift ball diamond near the garden plots, and began to play base-ball. They appropriated an old shack to store their meager equipment.

Gradually crowds of people began to gather around the diamond every evening. Since there was no other type of amusement in town, and its residents could not afford to go into Washington, the ball diamond a place of socialization.

More and more people wanted to play instead of watch, so the players decided to form an Athletic Association, a cluster of teams. The teams represented the blocks in the town. A tournament based on block competition was started, and the club was in full swing. Officers were elected, a constitution was made, and all the organizational paraphenalia adopted.

As the seasons changed, the activities and sports of the club changed. The membership of the organization rose to over 200. A fee of twenty-five cents a month swelled the club's treasury. With this, prizes were given to championship teams, picnics held, and equipment was purchased.

The nature of the competition and sports were such that the members got to know one another quite well. The Association was the type which kept vigorous, irrespective of the nature of its formal machinery.

Once a month membership business meetings were scheduled, but they were badly attended. Door prizes and other devices were used to increase attendance. Despite the poor attendance, the esprit de corps of the organization remained high. The feelings of comeraderie engendered through sports carried over into other town activities. Individual members of the organization, if they were "good fellows," found that"the boys" would support their candidacy to the Civic Council or to the Board of Directors of the Cooperatives. Consequently, politically ambitious men joined the club to secure votes. They pay their dues, show up at business meetings, occasionally watch a ball game, and collect votes.

In return, the good interests of the organization are promoted whenever possible. A good athletic field has been provided, as well as flood-lights for night baseball, and other things. The latest desire of the Association was the erection, at town expense, of a field house, with lockers and showers at the edge of the baseball field. Heretofore, the desires of the organization were satisfied whenever possible, because the town manager was one of its chief boosters.

Things can be done for the Association without the accusation of partisanship being leveled. Since the town has a recreation department and recreation program, expansion of facilities may be subsummed under "normal" expenses of operating the department. The latter has no official connection to the Athletic Association, however.

The favorable attitude of the Administration was evident in the building of the club house. When the decision was made to build, the manager "gave" them a piece of land without going through the formalities of securing a lease from the supervising agency. After the building was completed, the Agency was requested to give the Club a lease. This was held up for a considerable length of time.

The club-house is a source of pride to Association members. It was built largely with the labor and materials contributed by the members. The house is completely paid for, and the club treasury still has assets amounting to over $600.00. It has been rumored, however, that the town contributed, indirectly at least, to the building of the club-house.

The presence of the club-house constitutes another factor strengthening the organization. It has become a "social" center

for its members, that does not have the cold appearance of the town auditorium. The house is comfortably furnished with lounging furniture, ping-pong tables, cards, gymnastic equipment, phonograph, and a bar which serves beer.

Week-end parties and dances are held at the house, which often last into the "wee hours!" The fact that the house is isolated from residences, allows merrymaking to proceed without inhibitions. The fact that beer may be purchased and drunk on the premises is an added attraction, for there are no restaurants in Greenbelt where this is possible. The house is for the members, the town's night club.

The place is one of the two in the town where a little gambling may go on. When the club first opened, betting ran wild until a few irrate housewives protested that their husbands lost their entire bi-monthly pays. An unofficial "ceiling" on bets was consequently imposed. "Rough stuff" is kept under control by "the sargeant!"

The club-house has become so popular that many have joined the Association for its "social" advantages. The emphasis of the organization is no longer exlusively athletic, but "social" as well. This is especially the case in winter, when athletics are at a low ebb--only a little bowling and basketball.

The Association occasionally feels that it has a responsibility to the town. At times, it contributed to other organization such as the Boy Scouts, the USO, the junior football team, etc. It allows other organizations to use the club-house during the daytime. When necessary, it joins other organizations in putting pressure on the town council to things of mutual interest. The Bowling Leagues, "inspired" by Association members, have joined in requesting that bowling alleys be built by

the town.

(c) The Bowling Leagues. The Men's Bowling league was founded in the autumn of 1938. A group of men who played touch football in the evenings wanted to continue playing throughout the winter. They started to bowl, and in the first year, about thirty bowled regularly. Although many of the members belonged to the Athletic Association, the bowlers decided to form a separate organization. The organizational structure of the organization was simple because formal meetings were held only three or four times a year. Meeting at the bowling alleys once a week in College Park, they settled on the spot any problems that arose. The secretary and the score keeper are paid because their roles require much time and no playing.

The membership of the organization doubled after the first year and grew steadily, until the War. In 1942-43, it still had over seventy enthusiastic members. At first the teams were organized by blocks. Neighbors were members of the same team. The fortuitous concentration of the best of bowlers in one block was responsible for the League to change the basis of competition. This change allowed people in other organizations to have teams, such as the American Legion, the employees of the Cooperatives, Men's Sunday School Class, and others.

In both Leagues, men's and women's, everybody knows everybody. There is a high esprit de corps. In the constant shuttling of teams in the competition, everyone meets everyone. For thirty straight weeks the bowling goes on, and competition between teams becomes keener as the seasons progress. The teams are rather evenly matched, so it is possible for the last team to come out first in a matter of three weeks.

During the actual playing, there is a lot of joking, yelling, "kidding," and drinking. As an officer said, " We make a lot of noise, and we love it." The object of all this activity, besides the joy of participating, is to capture team and individual prizes. For the 1942-43 season, these prizes amounted to $970.00. Prize money comes from dues, which were in 1943, $1.10 weekly. Sixty cents of this goes for the prizes. Apart from incidental expenses as beer, the club spent $2,300 in 1943-44 for rental of alleys. It is possible for a better than average player to get back one-half of his investment in dues in the form of prizes.

At the end of the bowling year, an annual banquet is held. This is an all-night affair. At the club-house of the Athletic Association, a dinner is held, prizes are distributed, and officers are elected. Then the tables are cleared for cards, dice, and beer. The revelling continues until daybreak, and the season is formally ended.

The Men's Bowling League is one of the most active organizations in Greenbelt. It has had a slow steady growth in membership, with none of the usual bickerings found in other organizations. The reason for this is that it is a "good time" organization, with no ideological issues. It includes men of all ages, who are ardent bowlers. One half are members of other bowling leagues, such as their office teams.

The Bowling Leagues have tried to get the Government to build bowling alleys in the town. The estimation of the cost of such a building, fully equipped with alleys and pool tables, is $45,000. The plan is to have it run by the recreation department on a non-profit basis. The League is confident that facilities will pay for themselves in a short time.

Although The manager has been sympathetic, it is unlikely that the alleys will be built in the near future.

The Women's Bowling League was founded one year after the Men's League, in the fall of 1939. The membership grew rapidly, until in 1944 it exceeded that of the Men's League. The organization of both leagues is very similar, modelled after that of the National Duck-Pin Congress. About one-half of the women have husbands who also are bowlers. The Women's League has the prizes, banquets, and other paraphenalia of the men's organization. For many of the women, the league provides the only opportunity to get away from Greenbelt and their homes once a week. Their shriekings and laughter indicate that they enjoy their weekly sojourn. Strong companionships are formed from contacts in the organization.

(d) The Parent-Teachers Associations. The High School PTA of Greenbelt is very similar to PTA's elsewhere. It aims to integrate the family and the school more closely. The high school is located about a mile and a half beyond the town center and services many non-Greenbelters. It is thus not strictly a Greenbelt organization.

The membership of the association has gradually increased until one-half of the families are represented. The meetings are unspectacular, featuring speakers on school problems. The perennial problems of the Association have been to convince the Administration that a larger school is needed as well as a bigger and better library. The county feels that the Federal government should supply the cost of these items, whereas the Government points out that the school services the county, and the county should be willing to absorb its normal responsibilities.

The Federal government has finally decided to yield on each of these demands.

The elementary P.T.A. is a Greenbelt organization which was formed early in 1938. It started with sixty-five members and totaled, in 1942, about 230 paid members. This number represents less than one-half of the families eligible for membership. The school enrollment at the time was about 800. The members of this organization, as in the case of high school, are for the most part women. Rarely do more than a half-dozen men frequent the meetings.

When the Association began to function, it borrowed the organization structure advocated by the parent organization. This seems to be a typical pattern for Greenbelt organizations, affiliating with national groups. They duplicate elaborate organizational structure, whether it is needed or not. The elementary P.T.A. had eight separate committees, which gave extensive reports at each meeting. It finally decided to cut these reports down to a minimum, so that the actual business could be cleared in a half hour.

After meetings, it was the custom of the women to have tea and cookies, and to stand around and gossip. The serious, polite, intent conversation is reminiscent of conversations held at Women's Clubs. Indeed, some of the active members of the Women's Club are leaders of the elementary P.T.A.

The purposes and problems of this organization are, of course, in general similar to those in P.T.A.s elsewhere. However, certain peculiar ones have been present. The biggest problem of the group has been to get the parents of the children to understand the type of

school Greenbelt has. The progressive system of education used in the school is a rarity in Maryland. It was initiated by the federal government in line with the experimental character of Greenbelt. A few college-trained mothers who fervently believed in the principles, found that they had a major problem on their hands, convincing the mothers that their children were not playing at school; and if they were "playing" they were learning much more, and that more rapidly, than they could with other systems.

The Association has been only partially successful in its attempt to convince parents on the merits of the system. Many frankly state that they do not understand it, and they do not want to understand it. All they know is that, "Johnny is eight years old and he does not know his numbers." Apparently, the fact that Greenbelt-trained youngsters do better at high school than those trained in other nearby schools, does not carry weight with many mothers. They are out to change the system. The crowded schools, brought about by a sudden increase in population in Greenbelt, have forced the teachers to alter their methods more along orthodox lines.

The second major problem of the Association is to get the parents to follow the projects of their children at school with greater interest. For example, if the children are studying clothes, speakers at the Association will speak on the topic, and urge mothers to have clothes projects at home.....repairing, remodelling, etc. A few follow these projects with avidity, but most tend to be lethargic.

Other activities of the Association included helping the public health department in its health program. Mothers were asked

to volunteer their services at the school to inspect the children, and help the doctors and the nurses.

The Association tries to raise funds to purchase supplies in the school that might be lacking, such as pencil sharpeners, books for small children, etc. But on the whole the school is better equipped than those in the surrounding areas, and many things are not needed.

Since the war, the facilities of the elementary school have been severely taxed, that two shifts had to be held. A house was converted into a school, but this did not satisfy the space problem. The P.T.A. has tried to get more school room space from the Government. Prospects for this have brightened.

The Elementary P.T.A. was under the influence of the principal. When she left there was a sag in the organization's activities. But the firm faith of a few in education will probably keep the organization going.

(e) The Women's Club. As suggested elsewhere, the Women's Club of Greenbelt is "the" female status organization in the town. It was inspired and organized by the wife of the town manager. She did not engage in many town organizations, being too busy keeping up with many "social" connections. In October, 1937, the manager's wife suggested that a Greenbelt branch of the Women's Club be formed. A charter was soon obtained, and the women began creating an organization. They duplicated the organizational structure suggested by the national association.

The Club has six officers, seven division heads, and eight committee heads; twenty-one officers in all. In 1942, the organiza-

tion had sixty members, one-half of whom attended actively. Everybody in the Club is a member of at least one committee.

The purposes of this organization are similar to those of other Women's Clubs; "cultural self-improvement," "community welfare," and "social contacts." The actual activities of the club include; discussions of "community problems," book-reviews by club members, keeping abreast of world affairs by inviting speakers, collecting funds for welfare work, disseminating information on the care of homes, gardens, and children; celebrating holidays, and so forth.

The president of the organization once suggested that the Greenbelt branch was more "democratic" than most. Of course, national procedure dictated that prospective members must be elected; they can not join freely. The suggestion has been made to those "overlooked", that the Club has had to be kept small because large numbers cannot be entertained or accommodated in the homes. As a matter of fact, for the last two years meetings have rarely been held in the homes of members. The Club-house of the Athletic Association or the American Legion Home have been utilized. Space is not the factor responsible for closure operating.

An inspection of the membership of the Club reveals that the wives of status groups, I, II, and III, constitute about three-quarters of the total. That is, wives of important federal and local officials, wives of the doctors and professors, the school teachers who will accept, and the wives of the officers of the large local organizations make up the bulk of the group. Some "educated-cultured" women in the Women's Guild of the Protestant Church and a few Red Cross workers round out the group.

The educational attainment of the group seems higher than that of the town as a whole.

One member complained that some women thought the Club was "snobbish", but indicated that, "Catholics are included, you know, and that is unusual. We aim to get women who are vitally interested in the community, and who contribute to intelligent discussion." No Jewish women are club members.

(f) Garden Club. In October, 1939, after the first growing season, the Garden Club was organized in Greenbelt. The main object of the first half dozen members was to get permanent gardens assigned to them by the Administration. They wanted their garden to be something in which they could continually invest time and energy, and which they could tend to like privately-owned plots. They decided to invest their own money in plowing, fertilizing, and the like, independent of the Administration.

The second purpose of the Club was to instigate interest in the yards. The Administration was anxious to have residents make their yards as attractive as possible. It offered to consult with occupants concerning flower and shrub arrangements. A member of the gardening staff of the town joined the club. He was the laison officer between the town and some of the residents. It was hoped that the good example of the Garden Club would spur people to beautify their yards.

Almost all of the gardeners were amateurs, who had had little or no experience in gardening. Although their first seasons were not very successful, the members maintained that they enjoyed working together on mutual "problems." A Greenbelt resident, who was also a member of the staff of the University of Maryland's extension service, se-

and yard problems at the club's meetings.

The membership of the club grew rapidly after the first year, but then levelled off to about twenty-five to thirty, and remained at that number. In the beginning, the club held a few dances and parties, but the "social" interest definitely remained in the background in this organization.

The Garden Club is perhaps the only organization in Greenbelt that has deemphasized the formal aspects of organization. Although two meetings a month are scheduled, most of them are never held. The members hold spontaneous meetings out in the open at the gardens when necessary. The main purpose of formal meetings is to elect officers and make arrangements for the cooperative buying of lime, fertilizer, and other gardening paraphenalia.

Other activities kept the club active. Every year contests were held for the best garden and yards. Competition for the most beautiful yard ran keen. Experts and officials of the University of Maryland annually judged the yards and awarded prizes. The members took great pride in their yards. They yearned to hear from admirers, "You have the most beautiful yard in the town." Some of these yard enthusiasts have spent considerable time and money on their yards. A few have complained, however, that they were sorry to spend so much energy in the yard, only to abandon it in time because they could not own their homes.

Once a year the members of the club worked together to erect a booth at the Town Fair. Prizes for the best booth were awarded as well as prizes for the best vegetables of individual gardeners.

However, since the war, the Fair has been abandoned.

The club has not been active in local politics. It wanted the town to build a club house and a tool shed near the garden plots, but was unsuccessful.

The members of the club are in it for different purposes. Some are concerned with saving money on vegetables. They can enough vegetables to last them all winter. Their interest is largely economic. Others desire friendship and companionship from association. Some of the office workers feel the need to get out of doors and do physical exercises, and the garden is one way of accomplishing this. By and large the members of the club are an older lot, who do not enjoy other types of more violent recreation. Their organizations reflect the stability and steadiness of the members.

(g) The Camera Club. A group of about twenty "camera bugs" started their organization in early 1938. The purpose of the organization was to stimulate interest in photography, and teach all phases of photography to all interested parties. Pictures were taken, developed, printed, and criticized. Thus, all phases of the photography were learned. Books and equipment were purchased cooperatively.

It was difficult to find space to meet, especially space to build a dark room. After meeting for some time in members' homes, the Administration provided the club with a cellar of one of the apartments as a meeting and storage place.

Annually, members of the club posted their prize pictures in a booth at the Town Fair. Prizes were awarded for the best "creations". Also Salons were held every six months or so. Experts from Washington

were called to judge and criticize the work. Members of this club, took their hobby very seriously. With the coming of the war, several moved away, and others were drafted. The club gradually ceased to function. Several members of the club were so stimulated by their hobby, that they made photography their life work.

(b) Greenbelt Gun Club. Early in 1938,a group of people interested in shooting formed the Greenbelt Gun Club. This was during the "era" when many special-interest organizations were being founded; as the camera club, radio club, hobby club, drama club, the Greenbelt singers, hiking club, junior rifle club, etc. By 1942 most of these "esoteric" organizations had disappeared, with the exception of the gun and the camera club. By 1943, only the Gun Club remained.

The members of this association were very enthusiastic. They put in a great deal of effort in building a rifle range and a club house. In the latter, they held meeting, and stored some of their equipment. Organizations in Greenbelt that have a club-house seem to be much stronger than those that do not.

Membership in the organization was not very large, hovering around twenty. Every week-end, most of the members would go out on the range and shoot. Occasionally contests with other gun clubs were staged. Greenbelt did very well in these, beating even a West Point rifle team.

Both men and women were in the organization, although the women were few in number. Although the Club owned a few guns, most of the equipment was owned by the members. There was no hesitancy on the part of the members to lend other members guns. After long afternoons of shootings, members of the club would "pile" into an auto, and go have

a glass of beer. Friendship patterns made in the organization continued outside meetings.

With the coming of war, ammunition was denied to the club, unless it participated in drilling the local State Guard in marksmanship. Only a few consented to do this, so the club has been disbanded "for the duration."

P A R T I V

ATTITUDES OF GREENBELTERS

CHAPTER XII

REPRESENTATIVENESS OF THE SAMPLE INTERVIEWED

It was possible by analyzing the organizational activity of Greenbelters to ascertain certain of the political, economic, and status attitudes. Generalizing from this data is dangerous for two reasons. In the first place, about thirty per cent of Greenbelters do not participate in any organizations. There was no way of locating their attitudes and beliefs, via organizational participation. Secondly, it is unrealistic to extend the attitudes of the most active participators to the population as a whole.

We desired more complete data on social, political, and economic attitudes of Greenbelt male heads of families. In particular, we wanted reliable data on four fields:

(1) Attitudes toward Greenbelt as a place to live and beliefs concerning who should live in Greenbelt;

(2) Attitudes and beliefs concerning one's occupation. This includes data on job satisfaction, reactions to Government employment, occupational aspirations for self and children, educational desires for self and children, and data on the prestige accorded certain occupations;

(3) Political and economic attitudes, such as attitudes toward trade unions, cooperatives, strikes, political parties, and group identifications;

(4) Possible interrelations of the latter two fields.

Another purpose was to get Greenbelters to present their own ideas in their own words.

An interview was devised to provide these data. No pretense is made that complete information was attained on the attitude fields listed above, although it is probable that certain attitudes basic to Greenbelters were touched. The interview was applied to one-hundred and fifty-one heads of families, who had resided in "old Greenbelt" at least two years. This number constituted approximately a twenty per cent sample of the heads of families in "original" Greenbelt.

We shall explain how each question was handled as we review the results. Other questions, which do not provide data on the four general opinion fields in which we are primarily interested, were inserted in the interview. The results of some of these questions have been used as supplementary data in other sections of this thesis. The interview, in abbreviated form, was as follows:

1: The Interview.

1. Book case? Yes No Size: Type of literature:
2. How long have you lived in Greenbelt? yrs.
   How do you feel about the town? + 1 2 3 4 5 -
3. Why do you like or dislike it?
4. Do most people with whom you are very friendly (have social relations) live in or come from:
   a. apartment or row
   b. belong to your organizations in Greenbelt
   c. work where you work
   d. outside Greenbelt
   e. specify
5. Do you think there ought to be restrictions upon who is allowed to live in Greenbelt? Yes No What type? Why?
6. Describe what you do in your job:
   Title:
7. Were you ever unemployed? Yes No When? How long?
8. What did your father do for a living when you were around 16 years old, or when you were graduated from high school?
   Before then?
   After then?
9. Do you feel you have sufficient education for your purposes or do you intend to get more? Intend No
   If intend, what type of courses?

10. How do you feel toward the work you are now doing? ∔ 1 2 3 4 5 ⊸
Comments:
11. Toward your work associates? ∔ 1 2 3 4 5 ⊸
12. Toward your immediate superior? ∔ 1 2 3 4 5 ⊸
13. What have you often thought you would most like to do?
Specify:
14. Do you have any children? Yes No
15. What occupation would you like your son to follow?
What occupation would you like your daughter to follow?
16. How much education do you want to give them?
17. Do you believe the Government treats its employees better or worse than private business? ∔ 1 2 3 4 5 ⊸
18. What do you feel is the best thing about government employment?
" " " " " " worst " " " " " ?
19. Are you a member of a union? Yes No Which? How long?
20. In general, do you feel that people in your type of occupation should or should not join some sort of union? ∔ 1 2 3 4 5 ⊸
21. What would you do with a substantial increase in salary?
22. How would you spend a considerable increase in your leisure time?
23. How would you classify your political position?
24. Are you inclined to prefer the <u>principle</u> of the cooperatives or the <u>principle</u> of private business? Coops Priv. business Why?
25. If you were asked to name the group in the country to which you feel you most belong, how would you name it?
26. Story: worker and salaried employee
During the depression the wages of the workmen in a large factory were cut, and they went on strike for higher wages. The salaries of the office personnel were not reduced. The trade union representative of the plant workers contacted the office personnel and asked them to go on strike to support the workmen's strike. He assured them that if in the future the salaries of the office force were cut, the workmen would support their request for higher salaries. He asked for solidarity between the workmen and the office force. The office personnel felt that the matter was none of their concern, and they decided not to go on strike in support of the workmen's strike. How do you feel about the actions of the office force? ∔ 1 2 3 4 5 ⊸
27. Story: profits
Think of a large corporation, such as General Electric. Now suppose that you were in charge of distributing the profits of this corporation. You have paid up all the outstanding obligations, including wages and salaries. You have the power to dispose of the net profits of the concern to any of the groups on these cards. Will you please rank the cards according to your choice: put the group that you think ought to be most benefited on the top and the one you believe ought to be least benefited on the bottom with the others arranged in order in between.

The following choices were typed individually on separate cards:

1. Each customer of the corporation getting a share of profits in proportion to his purchases.
2. Financiers and bankers who set up the corporation.
3. Stockholders of the corporation.
4. Officials who manage its affairs.
5. Divided between stockholders and employees.
6. Workers, not including higher management.

27. Story: occupational scale

Suppose all of the following people lived in the same community. Which of them do you believe should have the most prestige, esteem, respect, or the highest standing? Will you please rank these cards in terms of the standing which you believe they should have in the community? Those that should have the highest standing put on the top, those with least on the bottom, and arrange the others in order in between. If two or more are equal, clip them together.

Each of the following occupations was typed on a separate card:

1. Doctor of medicine
2. Big government bureau head
3. Owner of large factory
4. Physical scientist
5. Politician-Congressman
6. High school teacher
7. Little retail businessman
8. Government statistician
9. Skilled printer
10. Self
11. Office clerk
12. Industrial wage-worker
13. Big league ball-player

2: Representativeness of the Interview Sample.

To insure that we had a representative sample of the "old" Greenbelt, we must compare the sample obtained through the interviews with the population as a whole. Since we have background data for the entire Greenbelt population as of June, 1942, the comparison is not difficult. The attributes of the sample which we compared with its universe are occupation as of date of entry, occupation as of June, 1943, religion, and age of head of family.

The occupational distributions of the universe and sample as of date of entry and as of June, 1943, are reproduced below:

TABLE XXII

PERCENTAGE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF GREENBELT AND THE INTERVIEW-SAMPLE AS OF DATE OF ENTRY AND JUNE, 1943

	Entry		June, 1943	
	Universe	Sample	Universe	Sample
Professional and Semi-professional	8.1%	9.9%	10.2%	12.5%
Proprietors, managers, and Officials	5.0	2.7	16.9	19.1
Clerical and Kindred Workers	63.5	64.9	45.3	44.1
Skilled Workers	11.2	11.9	17.3	15.1
Semi-skilled Workers	6.7	6.6	8.3	7.9
Unskilled Workers	5.5	4.0	2.0	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

It is evident that the distributions are very similar for both periods. As of the date of entry, the sample is under-represented slightly in the proprietory and unskilled categories. For 1943, the sample is over-represented in the professional and managerial categories and slightly under-represented in the manual levels. To determine whether the differences in the 1943 distributions are due to random sampling errors or to real differences, we ran a chi-square test of goodness of fit. The P of the chi-square was 0.85, which indicates that the differences between sample and universe are insignificant and very likely due to chance.

The religious distributions of both groups are presented in Table XXIII.

TABLE XXIII

THE RELIGIOUS DISTRIBUTIONS OF GREENBELT AND A SAMPLE OF GREENBELT IN PERCENTAGES

	Greenbelt	Interview-Sample
Protestant	62.8	65.4
Catholic	20.9	18.5
Hebrew	10.3	13.0
Mormon	2.0	0.8
Unaffiliated & none	4.0	2.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Table XXIII indicates that the sample has a slight over-representation of Protestants and Jews and an under-representation of Catholics, Mormons, and "unaffiliated." The differences do not, however, appear to be unduly large.

The mean ages of the heads of families of universe and sample are very similar; for the sample it is 35.6 years and for the universe, 34.9 years, as of January, 1942. The sample may be taken as roughly representative of the universe, as judged from occupation, religion, and age, and all items associated with these traits.

We shall now review the results of the interview. Whenever possible, relevant supplementary data will be added from other sources. Also, verbatim comments will be presented to show what Greenbelters think and how they talk.

CHAPTER XIII

ATTITUDES TOWARD GREENBELT

After asking the interviewed how long they had lived in Greenbelt, we asked them, "How do you feel about Greenbelt?" The question was put vaguely on purpose in order to elicit all possible reactions toward the town. Table XXIII below indicates that most of the people like living in Greenbelt. Over half are enthusiatic about living in the town. They have no reservations, making such comments as "I like it very much," "It is the best place that I have ever lived," "Outside of owning a home, living in Greenbelt is tops."

TABLE XXIII *A*

ATTITUDE TOWARD GREENBELT

	number	per cent
Complete approval	79	54.1
Approval with reservations	51	34.9
Mixed feelings	11	7.5
Mild dislike	4	2.7
Complete disapproval	1	.7
Total	146	99.9
Don't know, no comment	5	
Grand total	151	

The reasons for the total endorsement of Greenbelt vary. The most recurrent theme was that the town is a healthy place for children to grow. The cleanliness of the town, the good houses, friendliness of neighbors, are other reasons given. Even those who have reserva-

tions about Greenbelt agree that it is "a wonderful place to bring up children." As one man amplified,

> When we first came here, the children looked pale, like city-kids usually do. After the first year, you could easily see the difference. They were heavier, stronger, tanned, and healthy looking in general. A town like Greenbelt is ideal for children. That alone makes it a worthwhile place to live.

The comments made by the third of the people who have reservations concerning the town are more interesting. A few complained that the town is too "dead", that it does not have enough competitive spirit, that it does not have enough cooperative spirit, that shopping facilities are inadequate, etc. Some who have reservation on approval of the town are inarticulate. That is, they know that they have reservations, but they can't or won't specify what they do not like about the town.

The next largest group of those with reservations include those who object to the inadequate transportation facilities to Washington. In a sense, their reactions are not against Greenbelt, but against the problem of transportation common to all suburbs in the vicinity. An equal proportion, almost five per cent, object to the town because they do not like the cooperatives or the way they are run. We shall discuss their attitudes in detail in another section.

A few object to the architecture, in particular to the row-house arrangement. They prefer the isolated, single-dwelling type of house, which would enable them to have more privacy. One woman, representing the extreme in this point of view, answered the particular question for her husband,

> The architect who designed Greenbelt must have been a communist. He wanted people to do things in groups. The way he designed these houses, people are constantly thrown together. Neighbors and their children are constantly in one anothers houses. This means that we cannot have any privacy. Children cannot be reared in Greenbelt as individuals; they have to be brought up with other children. One really can't give them special attention, and the culture they should have, because they are always with other children.

A few others objected to their neighbors, but most residents specified that they have pleasant neighbors. A few people objected to having Jewish people as their neighbors, but most did not bring up this point. Five per cent of the total objected to the "high rents" in the town.

An unusual comment on the effect of living in Greenbelt, was made by a middle-aged photographer. He was concerned with the adjustment pattern made by many of his neighbors, after residing in Greenbelt for a few years.

> One has to be humble in appraising one's neighbors, but I think one of the worst things that has happened in Greenbelt is that the people have fallen into a middle-class groove of thinking. To give you an idea what I mean; sometimes I go along the street and I hear everybody listening to Fred Allen. When these people first came here, they did lots of things they didn't think of doing before. But gradually they followed the line of least resistence, until now only a few dare to be original. Now Greenbelt isn't bad as most small towns in this respect. I grew up in a small town, you know, and nothing could be a deadening as that. The average citizen in Greenbelt gets disgusted when he has to use his own imagination. Of course, there are quite a few who have advanced a long way since they came here. They've climbed considerably from the lower middle class. But some of the brighter fell toward the center. Now that's an easy thing to do. As I was telling my wife the other day, we've got to protect ourselves against that. But to return to the point; there is not much real effort in Greenbelt to evolve cultured persons. The result has been for everyone to vegetate in his thoughts. Maybe it's because they let down a bit after they came to Greenbelt.

Two other questions serve to expose further, indirectly at least, ideas of Greenbelters' attitudes concerning the town and its residents. The first of these inquiries about the location of the close friends of the family. The second asks, "What type of people should be allowed to live in a place like Greenbelt?" The table below summarizes the places of residence of the friends of Greenbelters.

TABLE XXIV

THE ECOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE FRIENDS OF GREENBELT RESPONDENTS

	Number	Per Cent
Scattered in Greenbelt	64	42.4
Apartment or row in Greenbelt	37	24.5
Work Associates, living anywhere	20	13.2
Scattered outside of Greenbelt	15	9.9
No friends or visiting relations	12	7.9
All equally distributed	3	2.0
Total	151	99.9

Only one-quarter of the interviewed suggested that most of their friends are also their immediate neighbors. This fact perhaps suggests that Greenbelt is not a "community" of strong neighborhood ties.[1] Although two-thirds of the group claim that most of their friends reside in Greenbelt, over two-fifths claim that their friends are scattered thoughout the town. Most of these friendships were formed by organizational contacts. That is, people with the same organizational interests seem to make friends more readily than people who happen to be neighbors. Of course, a small proportion of those who indicated that their friends are scattered in Greenbelt,

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[1] See Chapter III above.

intimated that these had been neighbors who had previously lived in the same apartment row. After moving, they still maintained their friendship. A few others who had friends scattered in Greenbelt, came to know them by being in the same car pool. Together these two groups, the "old neighbors" and the "car pool" make slightly less than eight per cent of the total.

Over one-fifth of the group said that their best friends reside outside of Greenbelt. They were neighbors and friends before moving to Greenbelt, or they were work associates. Thirteen per cent of the group suggested that their work associates are also their best friends. The fact that twenty-three per cent of the group maintained that their friends reside outside of Greenbelt is rather unusual in view of the fact that Greenbelters resided in the town for at least two years, and in view of the transportation problems in keeping up friendships in Washington. It points perhaps to the importance of the job and of job contacts in the lives and careers of Greenbelters.

When asked whether they thought restrictions ought to applied on the type of people who lived in Greenbelt, slightly over three quarters of the group, 77.6 per cent, maintained that there should be; the remainder, 24.4 per cent, suggested they would like to see no restrictions whatsoever. Almost one-third of the latter, or nine per cent of the total, volunteered that there should be no color restrictions in Greenbelt; that Negroes should be allowed to live in the town. One-half of this group are of Jewish extraction. They believe that the Administration should not discriminate

against any group on the basis of color, creed, or religious beliefs. They disapprove of the earlier system of having quotas established by religion. They want a laissez-faire policy in this respect.

Thirty-four per cent of the group approved of the current practice of selecting Greenbelt residents. They suggested that income ceilings should operate in recruiting residents, but once in Greenbelt, incomes be allowed to raise without the Administration threatening to evict them on this basis. The solution presumably would be to raise the rent in proportion to rises in income.

Nearly one-fifth of the total (18.4 per cent) expressed the desire to see the original bases of selection in operation.[1] Said one,

> It seems to me that the original plan of the Administration was the best. Ever since they changed the plan, we've been getting a poorer class of people in Greenbelt. Even though I would have to go if they went back to the original plan, I still think it would be best for the town. Before, you could lend a neighbor five dollars and not worry about getting it back. You can't be so sure of those things now. After all, Greenbelt was made to give the little fellow a break, and I'm sure that there are still plenty like him who Greenbelt could help.

Thirteen per cent of the group indicate that the only restriction for living in Greenbelt should be color, perhaps also with a modified income ceiling. Only five cases demanded that religious quotas be restablished. These wanted assurance that the town will not be "over-represented" in the number of Jewish citizens. These people hold overtly anti-semitic attitudes. A larger group, almost nine per cent of the total, want some sort of "character selective" to operate. They want a "more educated type of person,"

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[1] See Chapter II, "Selection of Greenbelters." These people had in mind selection of people enthusiastic about "community living."

"those who pay their debts on time," "clean people who know how to take care of their children," and so forth.

Most Greenbelters want Greenbelt to be for people in their own circumstances, that is, for those who are not too poor, but who cannot afford to own their own homes. On the whole, they like Greenbelt, although over ninety-five per cent of the group suggest that they want to own their own homes some day, and almost one-third are making plans to buy homes after the war.

CHAPTER XIV

OCCUPATIONAL ATTITUDES

1: Unemployment Experience of Greenbelters

Question six was a "warm up" question, inasmuch as we already knew the occupations of the informants in most cases. Since unemployment data were not very complete on the schedules, we asked the question, "Were you ever unemployed?" This is an important item of information, since certain types of unemployment experiences affect a person's outlook.[1] It also may have some relation to a fear of insecurity, or to the desire to procure occupations that have greater prospects of stability.

The immediate response of persons to the question often betrayed their attitude toward the unemployment experience. Some answered immediately, "Who wasn't?" Such a response may be interpreted, in a sense, as an effort to apologize for the experience by generalizing it. It may reflect a slight sense of individual guilt.

Others replied to the question, "No indeed, I've never had any difficulty finding employment," or "I don't believe in unemployment---anybody can work who really wants to work." Such replies again emphasize an individualistic interpretation of the unemployment experience. The individual assumes full responsibility and credit for the fact that he was continuously employed.

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1. See E. W. Bakke, The Unemployed Man (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1934), Chapter 4.

Some of the older skilled workers accepted their unemployment as fate, or even expressed self-admiration that they recovered so well from the experience.

The tabulation of the results of this question show without doubt that much of the group had suffered unemployment during the depression. Fifty-four percent of the total admitted that they had been unemployed. A break-down of unemployment experience by occupation indicated that the manual workers and the white-collar workers were about equally unemployed, for about fifty per cent of the manual workers also signified that they had been unemployed.

It is difficult to get exact data on the length of unemployment. Crude statistics may be found in Table XXV. Slightly over one-third of these interviewed maintained that they were never "actually unemployed," for they had been able to secure odd jobs. However, the income from these jobs was insufficient "to keep body and soul together." Most of these whom we may label "underemployed," were in this condition for a year or more. Forty-two per cent of the group was totally unemployed for a period of six months or less, while about twenty-three per cent was unemployed seven months or more. The average age of heads of families during the depths of the depression in 1933 was around 26 years. The meaning of the unemployment experience was clearly indicated in a comment of a clerk in the General Accounting Office in Washington.

> When I tell you that I was unemployed for only three months, it may seem like a short time to you. It happened in '32, and I had been married only for a year. During those three months we lost all of our savings, and we had to go into debt. About two years before I had taken an examination for stenographers. That telegram telling me that a job was open in Washington was a God-send. We had to borrow money to come East. I hope I never have to go through such an experience again.

TABLE XXV

DURATION OF UNEMPLOYED OF GREENBELT UNEMPLOYED

	Number	Per cent	
Two weeks to one month	5	6.4	
One month up to four months	12	15.4	42.3
Four through six months	16	20.5	
Seven months to one year	9	11.5	
One to two years	4	5.2	23.1
Three years	5	6.4	
Underemployed	22	28.2	
No information on length	5	6.4	
Total	78	100.0	

Below we demonstrate that one of the attractions of Government employment for this stratum is the possibility that it offers some security and stability. These compensations also have accompanying shortcomings, which will be discussed later.

2: Occupational Adjustment

Questions nine through thirteen and question seventeen in the interview attempt to get at the factor of job satisfaction, and attitudes toward the occupation. Question ten puts the question bluntly and directly, "How do you feel about the work that you are now doing?" The results are tabulated below in Table XXVI.

TABLE XXVI

ATTITUDE TOWARD PRESENT OCCUPATION

Very satisfied, pleased	66	45.8
On the whole, satisfied	44	30.6
Ambivalent	17	11.8
Dissatified on the whole	12	8.3
Very dissatisfied	5	3.5
Total	144	100.0
Refused to comment	7	
Grand total	151	

If the responses are taken at their face value, seventy-five percent of Greenbelt earners are relatively well-satisfied with their occupations. Slightly less than one-half indicated that they are completely satisfied with their present jobs. Thirty per cent are relatively well adjusted to their jobs. As we shall demonstrate later, this question does not have very high reliability . That is, answers to other questions indicate that verbal responses to this question do not entirely reveal the respondents' attitudes toward their occupations.

On the whole, this question and the following, which concern how the respondents feel toward their work-associates and their immediate supervisor, elicited "minimum" responses. These questions tended to be answered in monosyllables and in short phrases, whereas other questions elicited longer replies.

The few replies reveal, among other things, that some of the older workers have "resigned themselves into being satisfied," making such comments as "I've got to like my job; it has its good points and its bad points. Sometimes I like it and sometimes I hate it." Only rarely did we receive such revealing a comment as,

> I'm just a government clerk, and that's all I'll tell you. Like lots of other people who wont admit it, I missed my calling. [Wife introjecting, 'What Mr. M is trying to say is that he is dissatisfied with his job. He's been disappointed with the type of work he has to do, especially with his educational qualifications. The job is monotonous and tiring. He gets away from it as much as he can by working with his hands. See all this furniture? Mr. M made it all himself after working hours.']

3: Attitudes toward Work Associates and Supervisors

The distribution of the attitudes toward work-associates and

~~the attitudes toward work-associates~~ and toward immediate supervisors is similar to that of attitudes toward the occupation. Table XXVII presents the distribution of attitudes toward work associates.

TABLE XXVII

ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK ASSOCIATES

	Number	Per Cent
Very good associates	64	42.9
On the whole, good associates	49	32.9
Mixed feelings; good and bad	20	13.4
On the whole, unsatisfied	14	9.4
Work companions not liked	2	1.3
Total	149	99.9
Grand Total	151	

Almost two-thirds of the group admitted that, on the whole, they believed their work companions to be "amiable, good fellows," and that they do not "have any trouble with them." A few elicited surprise that the question was asked. They accept their work associates as they are, never articulating their own attitudes about them. Comments such as, "They're ok" or "a nice bunch of fellows" were frequent.

Among the ten per cent that are dissatisfied with their work-associates, are the skilled manual workers and the foremen, who have to contact unskilled and semi-skilled laborers. There were six such cases. The comment of an inspector of railway signals, whose wife is a school teacher, is typical,

> I'm like a foreman. I don't have anybody over me on the job. I'm the head of a crew that repairs railroad signal equipment. The workers are the rough type--swearing and dirty. We get along on the job all right, but we don't have anything to do with each other socially, outside the job. I don't have anything against them you know, but they're just a different class of people.

A few other workmen who work with Negroes hold similar, but more intense

attitudes. Another workman lamented that his associates are "too dumb," or "a bunch of cranks." A few "white-collar foremen" complained that their file clerks were stupid. As one mournfully suggested, "It's not a job for a man to handle so many women."

The third question tending to deal with adjustment in the job situation, is the workers' attitudes toward their supervisors. Over one-half of the people judged their immediate supervisors to be excellent men in every respect. Almost an additional three-tenths had some reservations

TABLE XXVIII

ATTITUDE TOWARD IMMEDIATE SUPERVISOR

	Number	Per Cent
Like very much	75	51.4
Like, on the whole	40	27.4
Mixed feelings, undecided	14	9.6
Critical attitude	13	8.9
Dislike intensely	4	2.7
Total	146	100.0
Refused to comment	5	
Grand total	151	

about their supervisors, but do not or cannot specify the nature of their reservations. Those who have mixed feelings about their supervisors, or dislike them, hesitate to specify their reasons. A few Government workers disclose that the heads of their departments are political appointees who do not know the work and are incompetent. Other objections such as stupidity, and disapproval of the moral character of supervisors were mentioned.

Is there any correlation between those who are dissatisfied with their work, and those dissatisfied with their work associates and their supervisors? We segregated those who had mixed feelings about their

occupation and those discontent with their work, from those who were satisfied with their occupations. Comparing the "satisfied" with the "ambivalent" and the "dissatisfied" for attitudes toward associates and supervisors, we find that those who dislike their work tend to dislike their work associates and their supervisors more than those who are satisfied with their jobs.

Although it is impossible to locate the independent causal factor, the trend is clear. Eighty-three per cent of the "mixed-dissatisfied" group manifest some reservations concerning their work associates, as compared to fifty-six per cent for the total. Forty-eight per cent of the total have some reservations toward their immediate superiors, as compared to seventy-seven per cent for the "dissatisfied."

It is of interest to note here that out of the fourteen who are dissatisfied with their work, twelve want to enter independent occupations, such as small businesses primarily, and farming secondarily. The proportion who want to become independent here is much larger than for the population as a whole. About one-half of the "dissatified" had fathers who were small businessmen and farmers, as compared to thirty-one per cent for all Greenbelters. It is perhaps revealing that all but two of the "dissatisfied" felt that they needed more education, a larger proportion than for the total population.

4: Occupational Aspirations

To get at the matter of occupational aspiration more directly and precisely, we asked the question, "What have you often thought you would most like to do?" Not only does an answer to this question denote aspiration, it also indirectly provides a clue to psychological adjustment

to the present occupation. Presumably, if an individual is very well adjusted to his occupation, he would desire to remain in it. The type of occupation he would prefer would perhaps point, in some way, to the "deficiencies" of his present job. The interpretation of the meaning of occupational aspiration, is of course, difficult for the motivation behind occupational "choice" may be complex. Yet, the respondents did not hesitate long in naming their choices.

Table XXIX below presents the occupational distribution of the job aspirations of Greenbelters. A number of interesting conclusions may drawn from it.

TABLE XXIX

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF GREENBELTERS

	Number	Per Cent
Business for self, and so forth	37	26.6
Same occupation as present one	24	17.3
Engineering	13	9.4
Doctor of medicine	11	7.9
Independent professionals	11	7.9
Executive, Administrator	8	5.7
Dependent professionals	8	5.7
Military and political	4	2.9
Accountant, investigator etc.	3	2.2
Miscellaneous	4	2.9
Don't know	16	11.5
Total	139	100.0
Refused to comment	12	
Grand total	151	

The most significant of these is that a large proportion of respondents desired to get into "independent" occupations. Slightly over forty-two per cent indicated that they desire to become, in one way or another, "their own bosses."

Twenty per cent of the total manifested a desire to "set up business." The business they suggested include such things as restaurant keeper, bowling alley proprietor, merchant, proprietor of a book shop,

variety store owner, independent plumber, and others. Five of these did not know what type of business they wanted, but nevertheless knew they wanted to go into business. These would-be businessmen do not differ greatly from the parent population. No professional person, however, signified an intention to go into business for himself. One-third of those who had the yen for "independent jobs" are manual workers. Those of Hebrew faith are slightly overrepresented among the would-be businessmen, but no significant difference in ages between these and the total population is present.

Almost sixteen per cent of the total desire to become "independent" via the professional route. The majority of these, eight per cent of the total, wish to become doctors of medicine, while the remainder want to become writers, lawyers, musicians, and inventors in that order. An analysis of those who want to become doctors reveals that they are a slightly older group, but do not differ in their present occupational distribution. No catholics denoted a desire to become physicians, nor did "other professionals." This may point to greater job satisfaction on the part of professionals.

The "drive toward the professions," noted elsewhere, is again exhibited here. Thirty-one per cent of all Greenbelters specifically named a profession. The most frequently mentioned were engineers, over nine per cent of the total, followed by reporters, psychologists, teachers and social workers in about that order.

It is rather unusual to find that only six per cent of the group display a preference to be executives, administrators, and consultants. If there is anything that they may become in the federal bureaucracy, it may be these. Over ten per cent of the group indicated that they do not

know of any occupation they want to enter, but it is significant that they do not mention their own work. Only slightly over seventeen per cent remarked that they have often thought of entering their present occupation. These people presumably are fairly well adjusted "psychologically" to their present occupations, but the proportion is much smaller than those who replied that they are very pleased and entirely satisfied with their present work. Fifty per cent of all Greenbelters signified the latter. That there are many aspects of their work about which they are discontent, we shall see in detail later. But it is of interest here to note that those who wanted to enter their present occupations are overrepresented in the professional and managerial categories. However, it should be added that even one-half who had aspired to the jobs which they now hold, aspire to a "higher rung" in the same general type of work.

5: Occupational Aspirations for Children

It is improbable that all of the people in our sample will realize their occupational aspirations. In fact, it is a characteristic of many strata to set aspirations higher than the possibility of their immediate attainment.[1] But frequently when such goals are not capable of realization, they are often transferred to the on-coming generation. In short, the occupational aspirations of parents for themselves are often reflected in the occupations they desire their children to follow. At times fulfillment through the children is plainly evident, at other times, it is possible to get at it indirectly.

Question fifteen in the interview places this question directly,

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[1] Howard M. Bell, Youth Tell Their Story (Washington: American Council on Education, 1938), Chapter 3.

"What occupation would you like your son to follow?" "Your daughter?" Most of the respondents who answered the questions spent more time explaining what they would like their sons to do. However, when asked to amplify on their daughters careers, they did so. Twenty-three per cent indicated that they have given no thought as to what occupations they want their daughters to follow, as contrasted to fifteen per cent in the case for the sons. Table XXX presents a detailed breakdown of the occupational aspirations for the children with a manual-white-collar breakdown of fathers' occupations.

A striking fact discernible from the table is that, for almost one-half of the children, the fathers do not want to make occupational decisions. They feel that their children should follow their own inclinations and interests. This tendency holds both for manual and white-collar fathers, although there is some evidence that manual fathers were more forthright in their occupational ideas concerning their children. A typical comment to the question follows.

> No I don't believe that parents should try to decide what occupations their children should follow. It never works. At least it didn't work in my case. One of my neighbors spends all of his time and energy trying to convince his son to become an economist, but the boy hardly knows what the word means. I believe that children should choose their own occupations. Of course, if they show any inclinations or talents in any one thing, the parents should help him develop that thing and give them all the opportunities they need. At least, that's the way I handle my children.

Almost one-fifth of the children had parents who indicated that they have given no thought to their occupational future. These must be distinguished from those parents who have given the subject some thought, but who have decided that they would allow their children to choose their own careers. In most cases where the parents have given no thought to the occupational futures of their children, they suggested that their children

TABLE XXX

OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES OF MANUAL AND WHITE COLLAR FATHERS

OF GREENBELT FOR THEIR CHILDREN

	Manual		White collar		T o t a l	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Own decision, inclination	16	43.2	65	47.4	81	46.6
No thought	3	8.1	28	20.4	31	17.3
Professional (sub-total)	17	45.9	36	26.4	53	30.5
Professional (unspecific)	3	8.1	6	4.4	9	5.2
Doctor, dentist	-	-	8	5.8	8	4.6
Engineering	3	8.1	4	2.9	7	4.0
Musician	2	5.4	4	2.9	6	3.4
Nurse, social worker	3	8.1	2	1.5	5	2.9
Professional soldier	2	5.4	2	1.5	4	2.3
Minister, priest, etc.	-	-	4	2.9	4	2.3
Teacher	2	5.4	-	-	2	1.4
Artist	2	5.4	2	1.5	4	2.3
Lawyer	-	-	2	1.5	2	1.4
Chemist	-	-	2	1.5	2	1.4
Skilled mechanic	1	2.7	2	1.5	3	1.7
Commerce-clerical	-	-	2	1.5	2	1.4
Others	-	-	4	2.9	2	2.3
Total	37	99.9	137	100.1	174	100.0

were too young for them to spend too much tought on the subject. The proportion was higher for white-collar fathers in this respect.

Of those who decided what occupational careers they would like their children to follow, covering about thirty-six per cent of the children, thirty per cent of the children are "slatted" for professional careers. In other words, when decisions are made concerning the specific occupations for the children, these decisions run almost exclusively along professional lines. Although the number of children of manual fathers was small, manual fathers had decided on professional careers for their children more so than did white-collar fathers. This was in part due to the fact that a larger proportion of manual fathers have given thought to the occupations they want their children to follow, but it may have been also due to the greater candidness of the workers in replying to this question. Despite this, we note that very few fathers specified skilled labor or clerical work for their children: None of them suggested that they should like their children to be owners or managers of business!

The numbers and the proportion of children in the specified professional levels are too small to make unguarded generalizations. The largest proportion want their children to be professionals, but do not specify the exact nature of the profession. Doctors and engineers, run highest followed by musicians, nurses (daughters), and others. The parents desired seven per cent of the children to enter the "cultured" professions, such as art and music, whereas none of the parents indicated such a choice for themselves.

By way of summary we may say that fully one-half of Greenbelters have suffered some unemployment in the early part of their working careers.

As a group, they maintain that they are well adjusted to their occupation, work associates and supervisors. However, their occupational aspirations suggest that they desire to enter into other jobs. These are private businesses and the professions. Only a few revealed that they aspired to their present jobs, and these wanted higher levels of the same general work. Some evidence points to the professional and managerial workers being better adjusted to their occupations.

Greenbelt parents tend to believe that the occupational futures of their children should not be decided by parents. Those who have notions of what they want their children to be suggested the professionals almost exclusively.

CHAPTER XV

GOVERNMENT WORK OR PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT

Over eighty per cent of Greenbelt heads of families work for the federal government. This is true both for the manual and the white-collar workers. To have a rather complete picture of adjustment to the job situation, we may not ignore the peculiar conditions of federal employment. How do Government workers react to working for the Government? It has been stated many times that Government workers are "a dissatisfied crew," and that Government employment is "better" or worse" than working for private business. We endeavored to ascertain the attitudes here by asking the question, "Do you believe that the government treats its employees better or worse than private business?"

TABLE XXXI

ATTITUDE TOWARD GOVERNMENT-PRIVATE EMPLOYEMENT

	Number	Per Cent
Government treats employees better than private business	38	25.3
On the whole, Government treatment of employees better	44	29.3
No differences between Government and business treatment	42	28.0
Business tends to treat employees better than Government	11	7.3
Business treats employees better than the Government	15	10.0
Total	151	99.9

It is obvious from the Table XXXI that the majority, almost fifty-five per cent of the total, believe that the Government treats its employees better than does private business, and that on the whole, it is a better place to work. Only seventeen per cent of the group feel that private

business treats its employees better than the Government. Slightly over one-quarter of the whole suggest that there is no differences, or that the differences balance out, or that the two can not be compared.

Ten out of the twenty-six who believe private employment to be preferable, are manual workers. Most of these are government workers who feel underpaid. Four in the group are employed by private industry, and feel satisfied with their treatment.

The reactions to the question were varied. Some said, "The Government treats its workers too well." Others reacted, "I wouldn't work for the Government if it were the last place on earth," or, "There are good and bad things about both you know."

In order to obtain a more systematic analysis of how workers in Greenbelt feel about conditions of work, we asked, "What is the best thing about Government employment?" "What is the worst thing about Government employment?" The responses to the first question were rather brief, answered by a word or two, or possibly a sentence. The replies to the "worst" thing about Government service were more lengthy and delivered with more emotion. The interviewer received the impression that the respondents thought he knew the best things about government employment, and that these needed no elaborations. However, in referring to the "worst" thing, the respondents felt that they had peculiar insights that they were willing to explain at greater length. Their replies, in a sense, reveal the reaction of workers toward bureaucratic conditions of work.

Let us first analyze the responses to the "Best thing about government employment." Table XXXII below lists the most recurring answers

to this question.

TABLE XXXIII

CLASSIFICATION OF THE RESPONSES OF INTERVIEWED ON THE BEST FEATURES OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT

	Number	Per cent
Tenure, Security, Stability	68	50.4
Annual leave, sick leave, and retirement provisions	50	37.0
Freedom, no pressure	4	3.0
Seniority provisions	3	2.2
Better working conditions	2	1.5
Miscellaneous	8	5.9
Total	135	100.0
Don't Know	16	
Grand Total	151	

The most striking thing about the table, of course, is the fact that over fifty per cent of the respondents designated that security and stability are the best features of Government service. This is all the more striking when we note that forty-six of one hundred and thirty five mentioned the words "security" or "sense of security" in their replies. Fifteen per cent of the total uttered the word "stability" in response to the question.

This great attachment to "security and stability" indicated by Greenbelters is understandable against the backdrop of its unemployment experiences, as well as the general necessity in the economic situation

of low-income groups during the present generation. We recall that fifty per cent of our particular group have been unemployed. Perhaps, what made the unemployment experience especially vivid to the group, is the fact that most of them had been married only a very short time when unemployment struck them. They did not have funds to carry them through, nor did they have the tenure of some of the older workers.

Over one-third of the interviewed suggested in their first response, that they appreciate the "leave provisions" of the Government. The Government gives its employees twenty-six days of paid annual leave, plus fifteen days "sick leave" with pay. Since the War, many workers have not been permitted to take long vacations. Many indicate that the accumulated leave will be used for a long vacation after the war.

Apart from these provisons, five per cent of the salaries are withheld for retirement. Apparently this provision is appreciated, and is considered superior to the provisions of the Social Security Act. Retirement, is of course, part of the "security-stability complex," but it was impossible to determine how many thought it to be the best feature of Government service, since retirement was mentioned in the same breath with annual and sick leave.

A few feel that the vaunted security of Government work is becoming a myth. Said a forty-four year old man, who was a photographer's laboratory assistant,

> The best thing about Government work is supposed to be its steadiness and sedurity. But I think the economic security of a Government job is gone. What is going to count in the future is politics, and whether you're a veteran. I get rather provoked at the fact that some veterans are going to get preferances for Government jobs. Now there have been lots of fellows in the Government who haven't been touched by the War.

> They were put into uniforms and got better jobs and pay than they ever would have gotten if they stayed civilians. They aren't suffering a bit. As I said they're better off. I don't think they deserve any veterans' preference in the future. That ought to be left only for those who have served overseas, and for those really affected by the War.

But a more typical comment of a young clerk, aspiring for an administrative position, runs,

> No doubt the Government treats its employees better than private business. The Government has a lenient attitude toward its employees. It's almost impossible to get fired if you're doing at least a **mediocre** job. The Government can afford to be so good because it doesn't have to show a profit. Although I've never worked for private business, I know I'd rather work for the Government.

Despite the preference of government work on the whole, the interviewed are cognizant of factors that make it unsavory at times. It is difficult to determine whether their irritations with government work exposes maladjustment to the type of work, or whether the irritations arise from bureaucratic conditions of work, irrespective of the routines of the specific occupations. No doubt, these two factors are closely interrelated in terms of the actual situation, and in the efforts of individuals to verbalize their reaction toward government work. More intensive interviewing is needed to arrive at valid generalizations about this subject.

Table XXXIII below attempts to classify the responses of the interviewed, concerning what they conceive to be the worst features of Government employment. As the case with the best features, we classified the first replies or the ones which the respondents elaborated in greatest details. The most recurring answer here is that there is a grave danger of becoming "stuck in a rut," or that "Government work kills incentive." These phrases were used consistently almost as slogans, without much effort at explanation or illustration. The impression was

TABLE XXXIII

CLASSIFICATION OF THE RESPONSES OF INTERVIEWED ON THE WORST FEATURES OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT

	Number	Per Cent
Stuck in rut, kills incentive	32	23.7
Bad advancement policy	28	20.7
Concerning bureaucracy	20	14.8
Salaries too low	14	10.4
Nothing bad about government employment	11	8.1
Improper Supervision	7	5.2
Routine work	7	5.2
Politics	4	3.0
Inexperienced personnel	4	3.0
Miscellaneous	8	5.9
Total	135	100.0
No comment	16	
Grand total	151	

received that the respondents were not speaking about themselves, but rather of their observations. As one explained,

> I've seen fellows come to the office to work, all full of energy and ambition. In a few years, they sort of get satisfied. They do what they're supposed to, and do a pretty good job at it. But all that drive they had is gone. All they do is wait for the next pay day. I don't know what is about the Government that makes people that way, but it happens all the time. Maybe it's due to the sense of security they get after a while.

One-fifth of the interviewed intimated that the worst feature about government service is its advancement policy. Seventeen of the total

mentioned the phrase "bad advancement policy" specifically. Some of the respondents were wrought-up by the thought. They exhibited more emotion while answering this question than any other. The specific irritations in the advancement policy varied somewhat with respondents. Some intimate that certain branches of the Government are "worse" than others in this respect. A postal clerk, thirty-one years old, complained,

> The worst thing [about the Government] is that you don't get much individual consideration. In the Post Office you have to wait your turn for everything. Promotions are all a matter of time. You get them when it is your turn, no matter how good or how bad you are. If you have unusual ability in private business you can get ahead. Not so in the Post Office. In other branches of the Government you have to fight for a promotion. But you can get it if you have the interest and the ambition. If you study you can get ahead in the other branches, but studying does you no good in the Post Office.

There is some reason to believe that some workers have forgotten the slow raises they received when they worked for private business.[1] They reason that their low salary was untypical. In a sense, they have idealized private business and attributed to it, what they feel Government service lacks. Regardless, their concern about advancement in terms of occupation and income is keen. An extended quotation of a young "production specialist" working at the Maritime Commission, illustrates the frustration with the advancement policy, and attempts to locate some of the factors which are objectionable.

> The big thing about the Government I do not like is the advancement policy. I definitely think that it ought to be altered. Things are really done backwards. Say that they think you can or ought to be doing a better job. First they give you the job, but at your old salary and title. They give you a try-out period. If you make the grade, they change your salary and grade. In the meantime, if you have been doing the job well, you have been underpaid. Sometimes that trial period lasts a long time. . . . . .

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[1] See Chapter 5 above.

> In private industry, it is different. If you get a new job, you get a new title and salary. If you make the grade, all well and good. If you don't, you go out on your ear. None of this trial stuff.
>
> Then too advances are too limited in the Government. They depend too much on your education. Take what happened to me for example. I've been doing a pretty good job on my present work. Another fellow and myself were competing for a higher job. I'm a more experienced man than this other fellow, and everybody knows it. Even he admitted that. Now this fellow has more education than me. It didn't matter what kind of education he had (it happened to be in music), but the amount counted. He got the job, and I'm very bitter about it. I'm going to try to get out of the Government after the War, and get a comparable job in private industry. They're a lot's of fellows who are thinking just the same as I am on getting out.

Other objections to the advancement policies of the Government concern its observances of seniority provision. Some believe that ability and accomplishment should take precedence in promotion over "mere length of service." Others claim that there is too much "politics" in promotion. Still others complain that promotions depend too much on luck, knowing where jobs are open, and knowing "just what strings to pull."

The next largest group of responses about the Government concern what we might call, "unfavorable responses toward bureaucratic conditions of work." Almost fifteen per cent of the interviewed mentioned this factor directly or indirectly. Eleven mentioned the words "bureaucracy" or "red tape" without going into further detail. An almost equal number intimated that they were "lost" in a large organization. One comment in particular summarizes aptly a typical attitude toward the impersonal character of bureaucracy.

> The Government doesn't recognize the individual. You're more of a cog in the Government, while in private business you're freerer to do a bigger and better job. It's hard to explain, but like in my office, you get the feeling you're blocked. Now I've been trying to reach my boss for the last three weeks, and I haven't been able to. When I finally go in to see him, I'll be lucky if he remembers my name. What I'm trying to say is that you don't get anybody who counts to take a personal interest in you in the Government. That's why things tend to get inefficient.

Five per cent gave responses similar to the above, stating that they receive either no supervision or "improper" supervision. An equal portion object to the routine nature of the work, and the impossibility of using their "ingenuity or imagination." As a neophyte law-clerk said,

> Today, I began my new job. I had to write letters telling people they didn't make out checks in the right manner, to the General Accounting Office. It's funny the way one has to write those things. You can't write how you want....You can't break things up into sentences; you've got to follow a pattern. After the letter is written, it goes through four people for checking and approval. It's impossible to make a mistake. I think I'm catching on how to do the job.

One-tenth of the group complained that the salary provisions are not all they desire. Most of these insist that the Government should pay as well as private industry, during war-time as well as during peace. Others protest that the Government should be "fairer" and more uniform in its payment policy. A foreman explained,

> Some departments are unfair to their workers. Take the fellow who lives next door. He's a plumber's helper at the Government Printing Office. Now I'm a superintendent of the plumbers at the Federal Works. The fellow next door actually makes more money than I do. Now I don't have anything against him, he's a fine fellow and a good neighbor. But it just isn't right. They should adjust the pays.
> Everybody knows that that sort of thing is going on, and lots try to get in the departments that have better pay. For four years I filed an application to become an apprentice in the Printing Office. Every year at the end, I got an notification to renew my application. Meanwhile, they were hiring lots of new people. It all boils down to the fact that you've got to have political influence. If you don't have the connections, it's just too bad.

The same type of comment was given by clerical workers. Apparently, government workers are well-informed as what departments, bureaus, and even supervisors give higher pays and more rapid advancement. Many make special efforts to be transferred to places where the chances for advancement and raises are higher. Their concern about advancements reveals a

"straining" effort to climb the bureaucratic ladder. Partial success or lack of success here accounts for some of the anxieties and frustrations about government employment. But on the whole, the security of the latter overweighs such "bad" features as may exist.

CHAPTER XVI

THE DRIVE FOR EDUCATION

For many white-collar Government workers, the key to moving "out of a job and up," is through securing more formal and specialized training. Ambitious workers, who may be dissatisfied with their work, or who may desire to earn promotions often go to school to become qualified for better jobs. In a sense, therefore, those who desire to secure more education are, perhaps, signifying their dissatisfaction with their present jobs, and an intention to climb a career ladder. This would especially be the case if the education prepared them for work which was more advanced than the work they were already doing.

1: Attitude Toward Further Formal Education

The question was asked of Greenbelters, "Do you feel that you have sufficient education for your needs, or do you feel you need more?" If the answer was "need more education and intend to get more," we inquired what courses they intended to study. Table XXXIV presents the answers to the first question, by a manual and white-collar division.

TABLE XXXIV

ATTITUDES OF GREENBELTERS TOWARD CONTINUING FORMAL EDUCATION

IN PERCENTAGES	Total	Manual	White-collar
Need and intend to get	61.5	33.3	70.0
Sufficient education	23.8	45.4	17.3
Need but too old	14.7	21.2	12.7
Total	100.0	99.9	100.0

Almost one-quarter of the total believe they have sufficient education for their purposes, while the remainder feel they need more. Six-tenths of the total both feel and intend to secure more education. When we consider that the average age of the group in 1944 was thirty-seven years old, it is remarkable that so large a proportion intend to pursue studies. Apparently the majority of Greenbelters are unwilling to consider that they have reached the apex of their careers.

Despite the small number of manual workers (thirty-seven), it is apparent that real differences exist between them and other white-collar workers. Two-thirds of the manual group signified that they would pursue education no further, in contrast to thirty percent for the white-collar workers. It is apparent that the white-collar Government worker intends to climb by means of an educational lever. The manual workers are older than the others, but this fact may not account for the large differences between it and others, in the desire for more education. The varying emphasis on education may be a sociological difference between the two groups. Education is said to be the "open sesame" of the higher white-collar worker, to higher jobs.

The following two quotations indicate the attitudes of sizable sections of the manual workers and office workers.

An "air brake machinist" remarked in an attitude of self-satisfaction,

> In my profession, education doesn't mean a thing. It's the experience that counts. The more you do, the better you get. You can say that you get your education on the job while you do it. You

> can't learn the work out of a book; you've got to do it. I never had much education, and I don't need it. I get along fine.

A "white-collar foreman", somewhat contemptuously said concerning education,

> Lots of people in the Government are bugs about education. I have enough for my purposes. Why I know a fellow who is sixty years old. He's been in the Government all his life, and he's still taking courses. In the beginning education may help you out a little, but not indefinitely. Some people, once they start to take courses, continue all their life, whether they need them or not.

Apparently most of the clerks still believe that education will be profitable for them in many ways.

2: The Courses Greenbelters Want to Study

Below is the distribution of the courses that the eighty-eight suggested they intend taking. In August, 1942, a questionnaire was circulated asking the Greenbelt residents to indicate what courses they had studied the previous year. A gross correspondence exists between the two lists.

The largest group, twenty per cent of the total, intend taking courses in accounting, auditing, mathematics, and statistics. Skills in these subjects are needed at the job. Those who desire such courses are already engaged in occupations which involved these skills. Those wishing to take general courses followed, sixteen per cent of the total. Over one-eighth intended to take courses in engineering, and about one-eighth are working toward a degree in law.

Thus over one-quarter intend taking courses leading to professional degrees. Almost one-tenth want to take courses in personnel and

TABLE XXXV

COURSES GREENBELTERS INTEND STUDYING

	Number	Per cent
Accounting, etc.	15	20.0
General, cultural	12	16.0
Engineering	11	14.7
Law	9	12.0
Personnel, business	8	10.7
Economics & govt.	7	9.3
Chemistry & physics	5	6.7
Technical	4	5.3
Languages	4	5.3
Total	75	100.0
Want courses, can't afford	13	
Grand total	88	

business administration, while an almost equal portion want to study the closely allied subjects of government and economics. Small proportions desire to study languages and technical subjects. It is interesting to note that only slightly over one-sixth of the group intends to study cultural courses. All the remainder want courses either related to their present jobs, or courses making it possible for them to enter other, preferable professional and technical (semi-professional) occupations. The breakaway from commercial and clerical courses is clear.[1]

The replies to this question indicate somewhat the occupational aspirations - - - professional, semi-professional, and administrative. It is also important to note here that the courses mentioned would be primarily useful in Government employment. Most of the white-collar

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[1] Early Adult Education classes in Greenbelt had heaviest enrollments in commercial courses.

workers envisioned being employed by the federal government the rest of their lives. That this conclusion is accepted with some rancor we shall suggest elsewhere.

3: Educational Aspirations for Children

The amount of education that parents want to give their children reveals indirectly, in some way at least, the levels they aspire for their children. It may be true that all parents have high aspirations for their children, but the amount of education they are willing to give them, or feel that they can give them, reflects more accurately the levels they feel their children might attain. For lower income families, education is a heavy financial drain and entails a great deal of abnegation on the part of the parents. The amount of training to be given to children reflects more dramatically the desire to rise to higher levels, or the adjustment or resignation to the present levels for themselves and for their children. It has been demonstrated that increasingly formal education is the vehicle to upward social mobility.[1]

Table XXXVI summarizes the amount of education Greenbelt fathers intend to give their children. Almost sixty per cent stated that they intend to give their children at least a college education. Five of these stipulated that they want their children to get advanced degrees. It is important to stress here that these responses were given as intentions, and not merely as desires. When we recall that only thirty per cent of the children were stated by their fathers to be headed for

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[1] Cf. Anderson and Davidson op. cit.; Taussig and Joslyn, op. cit.

TABLE XXXVI

THE EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION OF GREENBELT FATHERS FOR THEIR CHILDREN

	Number	Per Cent
Professional school or college	87	59.2
Technical, nursing and business school	7	4.8
Military college and seminary	4	2.7
High School	10	6.8
As much as will take	23	15.7
As much as can afford	16	10.9
Total	147	100.1

professions, we realize, that had the fathers diregarded their notion that the children should allow their "own interests" to guide their occupational choices, that many of them would have intimated professional careers for their children. Although going to college does not assure a professional career, the latter is almost impossible today without such higher education. Even for some semi-professional, technical, and management careers, college education is increasingly becoming a prerequisite.

The statistic of sixty per cent who desire their children to have a college education should perhaps be increased. Another fifteen per cent of the respondents expressed that they would be willing to provide their children with as much education as they would take. A typical comment reflects the attitude of this group.

> I'll give my son as much education as he is willing to take. If he really wants to continue his education after high school, I'm willing to do all in my power to assure his getting it. Of course, everything depends on his abilities and desires. It doesn't do any good to force education on people, and neither is it any good to give somebody an education if he is incapable of absorbing it.

Ten per cent of the interviewed specified that they will give their children as much education as they can afford. They, too, are largely concerned with financing college education. This group and the other place reservations on the amount of education they will give their children, but the desire to provide them with advanced training was clear.

Only seven per cent of all respondents would be satisfied giving their children a high school education, while an equal proportion want to provide their children with some training beyond high school, such as technical or commercial education. It may be of interest to point out that those who were satisfied with giving their children a high

school education were almost all non-Government workers. They were divided between manual workers, store managers, and salesmen, in that order.

It would be interesting to discover whether these educational and occupational aspirations for their children are realized. An interview with the high school principal of the town shed some light on this. Ninety-three students were graduated from the Greenbelt High School in 1943 and 1944. Of these, thirty-two or slightly over thirty-four per cent went directly to college. Of the nineteen that were drafted into the armed forces, ten had planned to enter college. This increases the college group to almost forty-five per cent, the estimation actually made by the principal of the proportion of the graduating classes that usually entered college. One reason for the rather high percentage is the location of the University of Maryland nearby, which makes education less expensive than it would ordinarily be.

About one quarter of the graduating classes entered clerical government work, while the remaining quarter distributed itself in other occupations. The probability of children of Greenbelt parents going to college is considerably higher than for Maryland youth.[1] Ten per cent of the parents registered the fact that any increase in their salary would go for their own and their children's education. The full answers to the questions of how increased money would be spent are presented below.

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[1] The Maryland Survey, op. cit., noted that seven per cent of Maryland youths go to college.

CHAPTER XVII

FURTHER ASPIRATIONS

We have noted above that Greenbelt heads of families aspire, in their occupational choices, to enter the professions, or become independent in one way or another. Yet in their educational plans, they are more realistic. That is, they intend to take courses which will help them in the occupations in which they happen to be situated. Although, the preponderant of Greenbelt fathers maintain that they will not determine the occupational choices of their children, evidence indicated that they desired to give them college training. There is also some probative evidence that they want and desire their children to enter the professions. This is to be accomplished via the educational road.

Two other "aspirational" questions were asked. "What would you do with a sizable increase in salary, (apart from buying war bonds)?" "How would you spend a considerable increase in leisure time?" Table XXXVII presents the distribution of choices for how increased money would be used.

Despite the fact that the suggestion was made in the question that saving through war bonds not be considered as a first choice, over three tenths of the group revealed that they would save at any rate. In view of the depression experience of the group, and the accompanying feeling of insecurity, this proportion is understandable. A still larger proportion, almost two-fifths of the total, indicated that they would use surplus funds to purchase a home. This confirmed the notion of the desire for home ownership by the middle classes.[1]

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[1] See Bingham, op. cit., Chapter 7.

TABLE XXXVII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CHOICES OF GREENBELT INTERVIEWED AS TO HOW THEY WOULD USE MONEY FROM AN INCREASE IN SALARY

Choices	Number	Per Cent
Buy a home	56	37.8
Save and investment	47	31.8
Education self (7), children (8)	15	10.1
Refurnish home	6	4.1
Business for self (5), farm (3)	8	5.4
Clear up debts	6	4.1
Travel	5	3.4
Improve standard of living	3	2.0
Charity	2	1.4
Total	148	100.1
No comment	3	
Grand total	151	

One-tenth of the group suggested that the money would be used to further their own or their children's education. This too is understandable in view of the expressed drive for education. No doubt, some who disclosed that they would save or invest their extra money, envision using it for the purchase of a home and education for their children. But only a small proportion of these signified that this would be how they would so utilize an increase, when we asked. "Would you save for any particular purpose?" Most answered, "No, just save for the future."

In view of the expressed desire of many to be in business for themselves, or to become small self-sufficient farmers, it is remarkable that only 5.4 per cent of the total registered that they would use surplus funds to "set themselves up" in business. Only two of these suggested above that they aspired to be businessmen. Evidently, others have dreams of independence. A possible interpretation for the small number wanting to use increases in salaries to set up businesses might be that they envision working the rest of their lives in pursuit of their careers in the federal service.

Another possible explanation is that Greenbelters are more "security" conscious than "risk" conscious. That is, they are unwilling to risk their security by investing it in a business with the possibility of losing. This holds despite the fact that they desire to become "independent."

Only a very small proportion suggested using extra funds for such purposes as traveling, improving their plane of living, and so forth.

Table XXXVIII presents a similar distribution for the use of

extra time. Since some differences by occupations were noted, the results were tabulated by the manual-white-collar division. Summarizzing the distribution for the group as a whole, it is surprising that one-fifth of the total would use more time in traveling. The practise of the Government not to give extended vacations during war-time, and traveling restrictions have not been well-received by Greenbelters. The ritual of taking two to three week vacations is typical of this white-collar group, and apparently it is valued very highly. In another section we saw that one of the most attractive feature of federal employment was this matter of having "generous" vacation and leave provisions.

Fourteen per cent would spend more time in their gardens. Many of these complained that they do not have enough time "to do justice" to their gardens. One-eighth of the total would engage in more sports and recreation. Over one-tenth indicated that they would like more time to study, and an equal proportion want time to take some formal training. Those who feel the need for more time to study and take courses, total over one-fifth of the group. This corroborates the impression received earlier that the stratum values education per se, as an aid to pursuing careers.

Smaller proportion would pursue hobbies, spend time with the family, improve their homes, rest, and read.

Significant differences appear between the manual and white-collar categories. The white-collar group showed a predisposition for indoor activities. They had significantly greater proportion who

TABLE XXXVIII

DISTRIBUTION OF CHOICES OF GREENBELT INTERVIEW AS TO HOW THEY WOULD SPEND AN INCREASE IN LEISURE TIME

	Manual		White Collar		Total	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Travel	4	11.4	20	22.2	24	19.2
Studying	1	2.9	13	14.4	14	11.2
Education and Training	4	11.4	9	10.0	13	10.4
Gardening	5	14.3	13	14.4	18	14.4
Hobbies	1	2.9	9	10.0	10	8.0
Sports and recreation	9	25.7	6	6.7	15	12.0
Rest and loaf	4	11.4	1	1.1	5	4.0
Reading	2	5.7	3	3.3	5	4.0
Spend with family	2	5.7	7	7.8	9	7.2
Improve home	-	-	5	5.6	5	4.6
Another job	3	8.6	1	1.1	4	3.2
Miscellaneous	-	-	3	3.3	3	2.4
Total	35	100.0	90	99.9	125	100.0
No comment	2		24		26	
Grand total	37		114		151	

wanted to study and pursue hobbies. A larger ratio also desired to travel. On the other hand, the manual workers showed greater preference for pursuing sports and outdoor recreation. Perhaps, due to the greater physical exhaustion of their work, a greater proportion indicated that they wanted to "rest and loaf?" A few of the energetic young manual workers said that they would get another job and earn more money. These occupational differences in the use of leisure time are in substantial agreement with those found by Durant.[1]

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[1] Henry Durant, The Problem of Leisure (London: Rutledge, 1941)

CHAPTER XVIII

UNIONS AND LABOR ATTITUDES

1: The Question of Unionization

We asked the respondents whether they were members of unions, and whether they believe that members of their occupations should join a trade union. Answers to these questions reveal not only the attitude toward unionization, but also economic and status attitudes. Let us first see how many of the group are actually unionized. The table below presents this data by the manual-white-collar division.

TABLE XXXIX

PROPORTION OF UNION MEMBERS

	Union Members	Not Unionized	Total
Manual workers	51.3	48.7	100.0
White-collar	13.8	86.2	100.0
All workers	23.6	76.4	100.0

Slightly less than one-quarter of all workers are unionized, and the remainder, of course, are not. The difference between manual and white-collar workers is as expected. The manual workers are over half unionized, while only about fourteen per cent of the white-collar workers are in unions. The manual workers who are unionized have been in the unions for an average of 8.4 years, while the corresponding statistic for the white-collar worker is 4.1 years. Most of the union men belong to the American Federation of Labor. All of the unionized manual laborers are in locals of the American Federation of Labor, while five of the fifteen white-collar workers are

affiliated to the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Although less than one-quarter of Greenbelters interviewed are unionized, we desired to find their attitudes on unionization of their occupation. The table below presents date on this question by the manual-white-collar breakdown.

TABLE XL

DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES OF INTERVIEWED GREENBELTERS CONCERNING THE UNIONIZATION OF THEIR OCCUPATIONS

	Manual		White Collar		Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Should join union, no reservation	13	35.1	21	18.4	34	22.7
Join under certain conditions	12	32.4	38	33.3	50	33.2
Undecided, mixed feelings	1	2.7	9	7.9	10	6.7
Should not join ordinarily	2	5.4	14	12.3	16	10.7
should not join	9	99.9	114	100.0	151	100.0

About the same proportion that is organized, almost twenty-three per cent, thoroughly endorse unionization of their occupation. One-third of the total approve of unionization under certain condition. These two groups combined make up about fifty-six per cent of the total. Slightly more than a third, about thirty-seven per cent, are opposed to unionization in some degree, while only seven per cent are undecided or have mixed feelings.

As one would expect, the manual workers are in favor of unionization to a greater degree than the white-collar and the professional workers. Two-thirds of the manual workers endorse the union idea, as

compared to a little over one-half of the manual workers. A larger proportion of the white-collared could not make up their minds, or were opposed. The thirty per cent figure for opposing unionization among the manual workers should be smaller. Four of the group were policemen and they indicated that they are not allowed to join unions in their occupation, and they also believe that this ruling is justified. These are atypical workers. The attitude of a printer who worked for the Government was simply expressed.

> Sure I think unions are wonderful things, because they do what they feel will best promote the conditions of the workers. In this way, the workers have a better chance to get the necessary things that will make their work more pleasant and efficient.

A photographer, recently inducted into the Navy, expressed his pro-unions sentiment more fervently.

> I can't understand the attitudes of these government clerks. I ride to work with them every day. They're always talking against the unions' strikes. I try to tell them that unions are a good thing. So what if the cost of goods goes up a little? You're still better off by being in a union....My mother worked in the garment trade in New York City. Do you know how much she got for working forty hours a week before the union came in? Fifteen dollars! Now she gets between forty and fifty dollars for forty hours. And the cost of living has not risen that fast. The situation would be the same if the white-collar workers organized....What I can't understand is why they can't see the obvious. Of course, they read all the anti-union stuff in the papers. But the case for unions seems so obvious to me, that all the propaganda in the world can't hide it.

Those who approved unionization of their occupations with reservations gave several conditions under which they would join a union. Thirteen per cent of all those interviewed said that they approve of unions, but that they are not necessary for government workers. For private business or industry, they would approve the union idea. A typical comment of an auditor develops

this point.

> White-collar workers are die-hards. They envy the income of the fellows with trades, but they won't join, combine, and present united efforts. [Wife introjects, 'But I though you didn't believe in unions'].....No, I believe in unions, but they're not much use in the Government because the agencies are dependent on the appropriations of Congress. If Congress doesn't come through, there is nothing a union can do. But in private business, the white-collar workers should join a union for their own self-protection.

Other reservations on unionization concern the administration of the unions. "If they are run right," "if they are not too radical or aggressive," "if needed," were other recurring responses. Said a secretary in private business, who, perhaps, reflects more typical attitudes of white-collar workers in general.

> I believe in certain types of unions that don't profit abnormally and do not take too much advantage of their members. In general I think that the C. I. O. has gone too far. It has created too large a distinction between Capital and Labor, instead of showing how they are equal and how they can work together. I'm inclined to believe that there is too much of the foreign element in the unions, and this has been responsible for their radicalism.

A recurring thought expressed by many of the white-collar workers was that unions are only necessary for masses of people who work close together. Statements as, "There are not enough of us accountants to make a union," were frequently uttered.

Fully one-quarter of the group does not believe in unions for their occupations. Many of them gave the same reasons as those who accept unions with reservations, but the reservations were expounded with more vigor. Also present among these reservations was the thought that unionization is "not befitting" white-collar workers, that it would lower their status. The young secretary of the head of a large government bureau expressed this thought clearly.

> I absolutely do not believe in unions. They are maladapted to office workers. A man working with his brains is different than a man working in a factory. A man with administrative ability doesn't need a union, although I presume that unions have done some good for the government workers.

A high school teacher asserted,

> The reason why our salaries are so low is because we haven't organized. They tell us it's unethical for teachers to organize, and we would be giving the youngsters wrong ideas about the teaching profession. But I say that we ought to organize and show the youngsters how the world goes 'round.

We may summarize our results on this question as follows. Greenbelters tend to endorse the notion that white-collar workers should organize or unionize for self protection. They feel, however, that working for the Government does not make unionization an imperative. One-third of the group does not endorse unionization because it believes that it would not profit the office worker, and it would lower his status.

2: Solidarity or Independent Labor Action?

The white-collar worker has been notoriously difficult to unionize. But we have just cited some evidence that our sample would be disposed to unionize under the "proper" conditions. The responses we secured were in answer to the blunt question, whether or not the unionization of their occupation was favored. Since this question is so important, we want to get at it indirectly in other ways. If the white-collar worker is disposed toward unionizing, will he favor unionizing into a separate union, apart from manual workers, or does he consider himself a part of Labor and want to identify himself with Labor? We devised a story which we felt would tap the attitude of white-collar workers toward Labor, and toward their association with Labor. If white-collar workers will organize into vertical

unions with manual workers, the thesis that the white-collar worker regards himself as separate and superior in status to the workers is disproved, for our sample at least. Organizing into one union with Labor reveals the acceptance of similarity of economic position and of status. We make no pretense that our sample is typical of white-collar groups everywhere. But it probably a fair sample of government clerks, and we should like to know their attitude on this question.

The story we created to "tap" these attitudes is reproduced here again.

> During the depression the wages of the workmen in a large factory were cut, and they went on strike for higher wages. The salaries of the office personnel were not reduced. The trade union representative of the plant workers contacted the office personnel, and asked them to go on strike to support the workmen's strike. He assured them that, if in the future, the salaries of the office force were cut, the workmen would support their requests for higher salaries. He asked for solidarity between the workmen and the office force. The office staff felt that the matter was none of their concern, and they decided not to go on strike in support of the workmen's strike. How do you feel about the actions of the office force?

The responses to this question were graded in the degree of approval or disapproval of the action of the office staff. Most of the respondents pondered a bit before giving their replies. We received the impression that their answers were studied and deliberate. However, the classification of responses was not very difficult. They are reproduced in the table below. The distribution of the replies on are strikingly similar to those of the table of unionization of occupations. Over one-third of the group would give unqualified support to the workers, and over a fifth would support them under conditions. The two responses make up over fifty-eight per cent of the total. In contrast, about forty-two per cent thought that the office workers were right in not supporting

the workers. These were equally divided, in partially condoning the office staff, and in wholly condoning it. Only seven per cent were "undecided," or could not make up their minds whether they should or should not approve the actions of the office personnel.

TABLE XL[4]

ATTITUDE OF GREENBELTERS ON WHETHER WHITE-COLLAR WORKERS SHOULD SUPPORT STRIKES OF MANUAL WORKERS BY MANUAL-WHITE COLLAR BREAKDOWN

	Total		Manual		White Collar	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
White collar workers should have supported the plant workers	54	36.5	12	32.4	42	37.8
White collared workers should have supported under certain conditions	21	21.6	8	21.6	13	11.7
Undecided, mixed feelings, need more information	11	7.4	4	10.8	7	5.3
Office workers should not support Laborers ordinarily	29	19.6	4	10.8	25	22.5
Office workers should not support Laborers	33	22.3	9	24.3	24	21.6
Total	148	100.0	37	99.9	111	98.9
Refused comment	3		—		3	
Grand total	151		37		114	

The distribution of the attitudes of manual workers toward the story was not very different from that of the remainder. One-third condemned the office staff wholeheartedly and one-fifth condemned them with reservation. Thirty-five per cent agreed with actions of the office workers and one-tenth were neutral. But on the whole, the manual workers disapproved the actions of the office workers slightly more than the white-collar workers.

Those who disapproved of the actions of the office force expressed their disapproval more lengthily than those who approved. The most frequent answers of the latter were curtly phrased as, "The strike was none of their business," or "It was the human reaction, and you can't blame them," or "I don't believe in strikes or unions too much."

At first glimpse, it may seem unusual that so high a proportion of the manual workers approved of the actions of the office workers. Apart from the fact that the policemen did not approve of the union idea, a sizable proportion of union labor approved of the office staff's action. Sixteen per cent of the laborers endorsed the attitude expressed by a machinist.

> Were the office workers in the same union as the others? If they weren't, they was right in what they did. The strike was none of their business. Of course, they was foolish not to get in the union, but they acted in their own right.

This quotation reveals the attitude of the old craft-unionism. It is not concerned with "solidarity" of workers, but merely with the contractual obligations of being a union member. Neither did the respondents take recognition of the status implication in the "story". When we recall that most of the manual workers were members of the American Federation of Labor, their replies become more understandable.

One machinist, however, recognized the inability of the two groups to join, but condemned neither.

> Workers and office people are entirely two different groups. Workers, like carpenters, have their own lodge or brotherhood. Clerks have their own typing organizations to which they can bring their complaints. Both have their own organizations that work for members.

Another came out flatly against vertical unions.

> If the entire plant was under the same union, the office worker should

> have supported the workingmen. But I don't believe in bakers-helping-out-the-truckers idea, just for the sake of giving the other group more strength.

White-collar workers were more individualistic in their replies in approval of the actions of the office staff. Some "justifications" ran, "It was a majority decision on the part of the office staff, so it was right," or "The office workers might have lost their jobs," or "Every man for himself," or "It's hard to make up lost dollars." Only three white-collar workers disapproved of the actions of the office staff on status grounds. According to an "assistant chief of an audit section,"

> I think the office workers were right. After all, the unions are a class distinction. If the office workers struck it would be a case of pure sympathy. If the office workers have grievances, they should form a union of their own, entirely separate from the workers. The unions of the workers are a symbol of mob violence to the office workers, and naturally they feel that they shouldn't join them.

Those who believed that the office staff should have supported the workers naturally were not concerned with the problem of status differences between the groups. Those who wanted "solidarity with reservations," gave various conditions under which support should follow. The most recurring one was, "The y should stick together if the demands were reasonable." A frequently expressed attitude was, that although all workers should have stuck together, the thought of striking was somewhat repulsive. A bookkeeper expressed this feeling,

> The office workers were selfish and shortsighted. Although solidarity is a good thing, in a case like that I don't think that strikes are the solution. The white-collar workers, with their superior education and tact, should have intervened and perhaps acted as arbitrators in the situation. Thereby all would have been aided, and no violence or strike would have been necessary.

This statement of course implies a feeling of social superiority of the white-collar worker. It gives the white-collar groups the mediating role

in union conflicts. But many of the white-collar workers openly came out against status distinctions by occupations. Said a cashier of a rental agency,

> They should have struck with the factory workers. White-collar people are not superior to factory people. After all, they are all workmen, even though some have overalls and others suits. In France, the clerks would not support the workmen, and as a consequence, everybody suffered.

A skilled radio assembler expressed the same attitude,

> They [the office workers] were rather foolish. They let themselves and the others down. After all, its the workmen who make the office jobs possible. The office workers failed where cooperation was needed. Of course, some of them are loyal to the company because they are white-collar workers. But there's no difference between the white-collar worker and the mechanic. I know because I've been both.
> The plant workers feel, 'let them think they're superior, we'll make the money.' On social affairs, like on company picnics, where they are all dressed alike, you can't see any difference between them. They all get together and have a good time, regardless of what they do in the factory.

Another attitude shows the ambivalence of some white-collar people. They have sympathies with the difficulties of the people in strike situations, but they deplore such situations. An assistant photographer from the Geodetic Survey expressed his feeling.

> The office force was all wrong, but the strike should have never happened. The Government should have handled the thing before it got to the striking stage, All employees have representatives in Congress, so it's really unnecessary to have a union. The union, after all, is under the obligation of the federal government. The same thing applies for the employers. They ought to submit the whole thing to the Government to have it ironed out.

An uncrystallized attitude is expressed by a high school teacher. To others like him, a strike is a painful situation. His sympathies are so diffused that he is unable to make up his mind. His opinion follows.

> The white-collar worker has felt the brunt of increased prices. He's the forgotten man of the War. Now I'm not against unions. I come from a union family. My father is a head of the union railroad conductors in his area. It's an A. F. of L. union. I've always been

> opposed to the person of John L. Lewis, but I read the story he wrote in Collier's the other day. It was very enlightening, and made me decide that I was too hasty in judging him. But to return to your story, I can't have a definite reaction to it, for I do not have enough of the facts. One important thing is that the white-collar worker was not unionized. He could have been replaced easily, especially in the depression.

The largest group of Greenbelters believed that the office staff should have supported the strike and should have unionized. They were in a sense, more "radical" than the manual workers [illegible], for they believed in vertical unions. Two blunt statements reflect the attitude of these white-collar people.

An "economic analyst" for the Foreign Trade Commission said,

> This is essentially a craft versus industrial trade union disagreement. I favor the industrial union. Craft unions develop rifts, divisions, and they split the forces of the workers. The plan of the C. I. O. is much better. In this case, the office workers were short-sighted. They could get ahead faster and go farther only with co-operative action.

A "commercial analyst" sardonically said,

> I'm a wage slave like anybody else that is dependent on others for a living. The failure of the white collar boys to realize that they are workers have led to their down fall. They need organization badly. They must learn to enforce their will on their employers, like their employers do on them, through organization. The employers belong to the best unions, that is the strongest unions in the world. The only way the worker can get anywhere is for them to organize just as strongly.

We may summarize our findings on the economic and status attitudes of Greenbelters toward cooperation of workers and salaried persons. The majority of them favor close cooperation. Oddly enough, opposition to this comes, in part, from manual workers reared in the Gompersian philosophy of craft unionism. Almost fifteen per cent of Greenbelters endorse support by office workers of manual workers, if demands of the latter are justified. Only a small segment are concerned about the loss of status in such a move. A larger proportion is sympathetic and confused, and unable to make a decision. Greenbelters on the whole, want to be "pro-Labor" and "pro-union," but are afraid or timid.

CHAPTER XIX

PROFITS AND COOPS

1: Attitudes Toward Profit Distribution

The "story" about unions tried to get at some of the attitudes of the Greenbelters toward other strata of the population. We are also interested in attitudes of Greenbelters toward property. We wish to avoid the technique of directly asking people their attitudes toward property. The probability would be high in such cases of getting sloganistic replies as, "I'm for private property, of course." Jones has discovered that the situation-story technique brought out peoples' property attitudes more clearly than other techniques.[2] We altered his main property story somewhat, and related it our subjects. We asked:

> Think of a large corporation such as General Electric. Now suppose that you were in charge of distributing the profits of this corporation. You have paid up all the outstanding obligations, including wages and salaries. You have the power to dispose of the net profits of the concern to any of the groups on these cards. Will you please rank the cards, according to your choice: put the group that you think ought to be most benefitted on the top, and the one you believe ought to be least benefitted on the bottom, with the others arranged in order in between.
> (On six separate cards, one of the following choices was typed.)
> 1. Each customer of the corporation getting a share of profits in proportion to his purchases.
> 2. Financiers and bankers who set up the corporation.
> 3. Stockholders of the corporation.
> 4. The officials who manage its affairs.
> 5. Divided between the stockholders and employees.
> 6. Workers, not including the higher management.

It must be noted that here we are concerned about attitudes toward corporate property and not individual property. The word "property" is not used, so that emotional reactions toward the word are impossible.

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[1] See, A. W. Jones, Life, Liberty, and Property (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1941), p.362.

Although the story is concerned about profit distribution, it does give attitudes toward corporate property, for after all, the purpose of owning corporate property is to receive income from its operation. If one interferes with the distribution of the profits, one is interfering with the traditional "rights" which accompany private ownership.

The task of arranging these cards did not evoke as much comment as other questions. The ranking of the cards for the group interviewed is presented below in Table XLI. In another table we segregate the responses of the manual workers.

TABLE XLI

RESULTS OF RANKING FOR DISTRIBUTION OF CORPORATION NET PROFITS IN PERCENTAGES

	First Choice	Second Choice	Third Choice	Last Choice
Stockholders and Employees	44.5	24.7	19.2	2.7
Workers Only	17.8	25.3	21.2	5.5
Stockholders	16.4	17.8	19.2	2.7
Customers or Consumers	15.1	16.4	16.4	19.9
Officials	2.7	14.4	20.5	6.8
Bankers and Financiers	3.4	1.4	8.2	61.0
Total	99.9	100.00	99.9	100.0

The most rational first choice for one who believes wholeheartedly in the principles of private property would be the stockholders. Almost ninety per cent of the big businessmen in Jones' sample placed the stockholders first.[1]

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[1] Jones, op. cit, p. 384

In our sample almost forty-five per cent believed that there should have been a compromise. That is, the profits should have been split between the stockholders and the employees. But this may not be interpreted as a "radical" choice since Jones indicated that the case for Akron, Ohio was not much different.[2]

Whereas the stockholders were clearly the second choice for Akron, they ranked third in our sample. The workers of the corporation, not including the management ranked slightly above the stockholders as first choice, and the customers slightly lower.

The second choice makes it clear that the group preferred the workers to have more of the profits than the stockholders. Here the workers are ranked first, followed closely by the stockholders and workers. Then come the stockholders alone, followed closely by the consumers. The same pattern is seen on the third choice, only the groups here are much closer.

The presence of the cooperatives in Greenbelt seems to have affected peoples' attitudes toward consumers benefitting from the operation of the economic machine. The choice of consumer was in the fifteen per cent area in all choices, from the first to the sixth. No group in Akron ranked the consumer choice as highly.

The arrangement of the last choice is revealing, because it indicates which group receives the greatest antagonism, which group is least desired to profit from the operation of the corporate economic organization. The bankers and financiers who set up the corporation received

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[2] Ibid. p. 383

sixty-one per cent of the last choices. This figure is considerably higher than that for Akron as a whole or for any occupational group in Akron.[1] The customers in our Sample were ranked next, after the "moneyed" man. Rankers explained in doing this, "I have nothing against the consumer, but he has not invested any time or money to make profits of the corporation."

In arranging the cards, a few suggested such a solution to the economic problems of contemporary society:

> What I really prefer is for the employees to be the stockholders. Bankers go at the bottom because they do no work. The officials and the managers go above them, because they do some work. The stockholders ought to get something, because without their money there would be no corporation. In other words, I believe in private enterprise, if it allows the employees to share.

Another opinion shares somewhat the same thought.

> I've always told my friends that I can't see a manager of a factory get a salary of $80,000 a year, and then on top get a bonus at the end of the year twice his salary. You may think that I am radical or communistic, but I think that money ought to go to the workers who helped make it. My friends say that I'm radical, but I am only speaking common sense from the worker's point of view. No man is worth two or three hundred thousand dollars a year. Since everybody makes the money, if there is a profit, the workers ought to get part of it.

Another young clerk suggested a proposal not covered by the choices.

> If you want me to arrange the cards I will. But I think that all the profits ought to be turned back to the Government. All the people in the country should profit. Besides, there should not be too much profit left after the end of the year. The money should go to the Government which would spend it for roads, reduce the taxes, and things like that. I'll be frank with you, I believe in "big government."

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[1] Although Jones had thirteen possible choices in this "story" most of the respondents used those which we used. Thirty-three per cent of the C.I.O. workers ranked bankers last.

From the above, the conclusion becomes clear that Greenbelters would like to see some modification in the operation of the economic organization of the country. They would like to see the worker get a larger share of the profits, and even want the customer to share in the profits. This should be done first at the expense of bankers, and secondarily at the expense of the stockholders. They do not endorse the principle of private enterprise wholeheartedly. Jones has shown that only a very small segment of the population endorses the property principle wholeheartedly. There is reason to believe that the Greenbelt sample would like the principle altered even father than the model groups in the country.

We wondered whether the manual workers in Greenbelt differed significantly from the population as a whole concerning the distribution of profits. We segregated their choices from those of the population as a whole. Although the number of manual workers is small, their distribution is of interest. The first, second, and last choices are presented in the Table XLII.

The distribution of the manual workers is very similar to that of the group as a whole. The compromise of stockholder and employees as first choice, has the largest percentage. Stockholders are ranked third after the workers both for the first and second choices. The last choice, due perhaps to the smaller numbers, shows more scatter than for the group as a whole. Yet the bankers still ranked lowest, followed by the consumer and the officials, and then the workers. Apparently, as in the case for the total, there is still some feeling that the stock-

holder should receive something for investing his money. No doubt the words, "bankers and financiers" are dyslogiams for the manual workers and for the others. The reaction to them is perhaps more emotional than for the other choices. The results of the ranking for the manual workers corroborates those of the group as a whole. It is difficult to say, on the basis of these comparisons, that the manual workers are more "radical" than the clerical workers, or vice versa.

TABLE XLII

RESULTS OF THE RANKING FOR DISTRIBUTION OF CORPORATION NET PROFITS BY MANUAL WORKERS IN PERCENTAGES

	First Choice	Second Choice	Last Choice
Stockholders and employees	51.4	13.5	5.6
Workers Only	21.6	32.4	11.1
Stockholders	13.5	16.2	2.8
Customers	5.4	21.6	22.2
Officials	2.7	13.5	13.9
Bankers and Financiers	5.4	2.7	44.4
Totals	100.0	99.9	100.0

2: Cooperatives or Private Business?

The results of the previous section signify that Greenbelters have some reservations on the way private enterprises are operated. Certain suggestions on how they should like to see them run were presented. Cooperatives constitute one possible solution or alternative to the strict private property principle. Since Greenbelters were exposed to the cooperative idea in theory and practice, their attitudes

toward cooperatives would shed further light on their economic attitudes. The question was asked directly, "Are you inclined to prefer the principle of the cooperatives or the principle of private business?" The answers to the question were graded in intensity. They are classified in the Table XLIII.

TABLE XLIII

DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES TOWARD THE PRINCIPLES OF COOPERATIVES AND THOSE OF PRIVATE BUSINESS

	Number	Per Cent
Endorse cooperative principle wholeheartedly	47	30.7
Endorse cooperative principle with reservation	26	17.3
Undecided	7	4.7
Need both	13	8.7
Prefer private business, if run reasonably	18	12.0
Prefer private business altogether	40	26.7
Total	151	100.1

The basic fact about the table is that there is no preponderant endorsement of either the principle of the cooperatives or the principle of private business. Forty-eight per cent of the total tend to prefer the cooperative principles as contrasted with almost forty per cent who prefer the principle of the private businesses. About equal proportion, thirty per cent, take extreme positions, of endorsing their principle fully. Slightly over one-eighth of the group is unable to make a choice, or believes that both principles have merit, and both cooperatives and private businesses should exist. The weight is

toward endorsing the cooperative principle, however.

It is important to emphasize that the question was asked in terms of principles and not the actually existing types of business enterprises. This meant, the interviewers felt, that some respondents interpreted the problem as one of selecting "utopia" rather than selecting, "economically and morally", the rules by which economic behavior may be channeled. That is, some respondents were unable to detect the close relationship that exists between principles of business and the actual operation of business. They attributed to cooperatives "more principles" than exist in private enterprise, whereas the subject may not be realistically qualified in this manner. In other words, had the question been placed, "Do you prefer cooperatives or private business?", the feeling is that the proportion that would have chosen either, would have been closer than those which we have.

However, some respondents replied directly to the question. It is safe to say that the forty per cent endorsed the cooperative principle, thinking of it as a realistic ideological and practical alternative to the principles of the private enterprise. They were well aware of the principles of both in their corporate form, and chose accordingly. Most respondents found it difficult to distinguish the principles of the business from their experiences with business organizations in recent past. Even those endorsing the cooperative principles wholeheartedly, immediately tended to introject that the Greenbelt example was not to their liking.

The things that they disapprove of in the situation vary considerably. However, most of the responses, whether they approved or disapproved of the cooperative principle, revolve around the manner in which cooperatives are operated in Greenbelt. Fully ten per cent said "Cooperatives are o.k., if they are run right."

What these and others meant by "being run right" was not the consumer's role in operating the business, but the manager's role. The things that they disapproved in regard to the management vary. One suggested,

> I like the principle of the coops, a great idea, but I don't like what I've seen in Greenbelt. It's hard to get anything which is wholly coop. Some people always try to undermine a bona fide organization. In this case, it's the managers of the coops who have hiked their salaries sky high.

Another "typical" response to the "managerial problem" ran,

> I agree with the principle of coops. They're o.k., they couldn't be better. But things are lacking in the management here. We don't get the trained men of private enterprise. We don't get the experienced people we need to make a cooperative grow. Maybe the reason is that the coops are young.

Yet another,

> I believe in the cooperative principle very much, but the people in it are not so good. Above all, we need cooperative-minded managers, who are interested in the movement, and in the welfare of human beings. We need managers who will make the principles live.

The complaints about the managers were discussed in the chapter on cooperatives. Apart from the one-fifth that object to cooperatives on the basis of the management in Greenbelt, others object on the basis of their being "too democratic", i.e., not giving the management enough independence, or of not being "democratic enough" or because they were

"too big."

Only a few who approve of the cooperative principle introduced the idea that competition is needed to make the wheels of busines go around. But those who prefer the principle of private business often mentioned the necessity of competition. This reason for endorsing private business recurred more frequently than any other. A typical reply, expressing this sentiment follows.

> No, there should not be cooperatives, but if they do exist, they must be able to compete with private business. Where there is healthy competition, you don't need cooperatives. In Greenbelt the cooperatives are not any good, for their prices are too high and their employees are not treated well. The principle of private business is on the whole better.

Others have the feeling that cooperatives are "not really" a business, because they do not operate like private business. They find it difficult to locate their objection. According to a board member of the coop,

> There is not the right kind of interest in the coops in the town. The coops have to be run like a business. Some of these radicals get together to form "study groups", to fix this thing and that. It's true that we do not have enough experienced managers, but these radicals certainly do not know the practical problems of business.

Next to competition, the other large objection to cooperatives is that they tend to be "monopolistic." It is of parenthetic interest that the respondents never thought of the medical or other cooperatives in the town expressing their attitudes about cooperatives, they always envisioned the GCS. Because the GCS was given a monapoly in the town, the feeling persists that cooperatives are in general, economic monopolies that they are bad for small private businesses. An insurance man expressed this thought.

> I believe in certain types of coops. But the majority of coops are not true coops. The coops deprive the individual merchant

> of his living. Coops are monopolies just like the Safeway. In fact, they are the same. They both have stocks and pay dividends to the stockholders.

A more "sophisticated" view was expressed by a photographer,

> The principle of the coops and private business are very much the same when they get big. It's an odd thing, the larger the coop, the farther you are from being able to run the thing. If the coop ideals are followed, of course, they would be superior to private business. Coops are the more socialized and democratic way of running a business. They have been successful abroad because they had a social aspect as well as an economic one. The big businesses there were owned by the old families. But in the United States, we admire the big business-man, and there is no desire to do away with his power. But, as I said, when businesses get big, coop or private, the individual has little control over them.

Other objections to the cooperatives were similar to those given by people who accept the cooperatives with reservations, only the reservations were made the principle reason for preferring private businesses in these cases.

Fully one quarter of the group expressed opinions without giving any "rationale" for them. Some were unable to choose between the principles, and suggested that both should be retained. These tended to be confused. According to a statistical clerk,

> They[coops and private business] both have their good points. Coops won't solve everything. We need them both to work on each other. But I've heard some pretty strong things against coops. For one thing, they make for unemployment. They simplify too much, by cutting out in-between factories, the middleman, the retailers, and things like that. I don't believe in any one thing, for both have their weaknesses. But on the whole, one will bring out the best in the other.

This person identified the rationalization of business as a feature peculiar to cooperatives. The type of indecision, and the desire to avoid a real choice is evident in the quotation of an auditor.

> I'm glad you asked about the principle of the coop, for I believe in the principle very much. But I do not believe in the practise, especially in Greenbelt. As long as I an not a capitalist, I believe in coops, but if I were a capitalist naturally I wouldn't believe in them. If coops were run on a sounder basis, it would be better for all concerned. We didn't start with a true coop here.

This confusion is more clearly demonstrated in the following quotation.

> It is hard to express my feeling about the coop. I certainly believe in them as a principle, if they are run democratically. The experience I had in Greenbelt was rather unfortunate. If the coops are run like communism, I do not like that. I think a man is worth what he can earn. Some people are born financial wizards, while others are born to follow. Where would the followers be if they didn't have leaders? You've got to have capitalists if you're going to have opportunity.

We may conclude here that the majority of people in Greenbelt believe in the principle of cooperatives. Since most of them were not acquainted with cooperatives before they came to Greenbelt, we may venture the opinion that many white-collar workers may be "convinced" to prefer such a principle if under "cooperative influence" for a period of time. It is obvious that the Greenbelt experience was quite instrumental in having the majority accept the cooperative principle in whole or in part. The impression is strong that had a sample opinion been taken earlier concerning attitudes toward the cooperative principles, that a larger propertion would have endorsed the cooperative principle wholeheartedly. Apparently, the experiences of the last two years with the cooperatives in Greenbelt, "soured" quite a few who have believed in the movement. The change of heart arose not from a disbelief of cooperative principles, but from the belief that cooperatives in Greenbelt are not adhering to the principles for which they were created. In short, the objections are centered about the notion that, "the

coops were not run as coops" by the managers who were hired to do so.

Almost two-fifths of the group endorsed the principle of private business. The main justification for their position was that private business, being operated under conditions of competition, was more efficient. Also that cooperatives tended to be monopolies, and therefore less helpful to the individual consumer. Slightly over one-eighth of the total was "imbued" with both principles. Some of these tended to be confused about their beliefs and ideas.

CHAPTER XX

IDENTIFICATION: POLITICAL AND OTHERWISE

1: Political Identifications

The close relationships of the political and economic orders in contemporary capitalist society is evident to the most superficial observer. In light of the past discussions of the economic attitudes and beliefs of Greenbelters, we should like to see whether these reflect themselves in political terms as well. We have seen that our sample would like to see some modifications of the actual way the property principle operates, and we have also noted that a considerable proportion accept, with some reservation, cooperative methods of business. On the basis of evidence presented thus far, it seems as though Greenbelters take a rather unsystematic, but nevertheless "liberal" or "progressive" approach to modern society.

Although political parties in the United States do not represent clear-cut policy and ideological differences, the Democratic party from 1933-1940 was dominated, as most observers agree, by a "liberal" approach. This has held particularly for the New Deal branch of that party. Within both major parties, there have been groups that have called themselves "liberals" and "progressives." These envision certain changes within the present social order which would benefit the "common man" by bringing him, through government action, a larger degree of social and economic security. This, perhaps, might be accomplished by federal action, whose aim is to "equalize" opportunities through taxation and other means.[1]

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[1] See C. A. Beard and M. Beard, The Future Comes, A Study of the New Deal (New York: Macmillan, 1934) for a balanced view of the aims of the New Deal and the "liberal era."

We have already touched on some of "Greenbelters" attitudes on this subject. We also want to determine, if possible, how they would locate themselves politically. We asked the question, "How would you classify your political position?" We purposefully avoided the word "party" in the question for a number of reasons. We did not want to suggest symbols which they would grasp at, for we desired most of all to know how they regarded themselves, whenever possible, in terms which expressed different ideological positions.

The responses to the question are classified in Table XXIV. We tabulated the first responses, or those which the subjects amplified the most.

TABLE XLIV

POLITICAL INDENTIFICATION SYMBOLS OF GREENBELTERS

BY WHITE-COLLAR, MANUAL DIVISIONS

	Manual		White Collar		Total	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Democrat	9	31.0	38	38.7	47	37.0
No political ties	8	27.6	12	12.2	20	15.7
Independent	5	17.2	18	18.4	23	18.1
Liberal	1	3.5	11	11.2	23	18.1
Conservative	1	3.5	4	4.1	6	4.8
Socialist,left,etc.	1	3.5	3	3.1	4	3.1
Republican	3	10.3	7	7.3	10	7.9
Feel they "can't answer"	1	3.5	4	4.1	5	3.9
Total	29	100.1	98	100.1	128	99.9

The categories of this table are not mutually exclusive in a logical sense. We allowed the responses of the interviewed to guide the basis of making the categories. Most overlapping probably occurs

between the "independents" and "no political ties." Only 127 respondents were able to give "unprompted" answers. The remaining twenty-four were afraid or suspicious of the question, or were unable to comprehend it. Their response was usually, "What do you mean?" To these a "crutch" was applied, "Conservative, liberal, independent, middle-of-the-road, Republican or what?"

Greenbelters locate themselves politically largely in terms of the prevailing parties. Almost forty-five per cent of all Greenbelters responded that they were Democrats or Republicans. Almost thirty-eight per cent claim no party or ideological affiliation. This rather large proportion is made up of "independents," "those who claim no political interest or affiliation," and those who "don't know or can't answer" the question. Only eight per cent identified themselves along lines of "political principles," such as "liberal," "conservative," and so on. This is rather startling in view of their responses to previous socio-political questions, and in view of the fact that the question asked for principle identification, and not party designation.

Of course, this does not necessarily imply that the interviewed may not hold systematic political orientations even though affiliated with existing parties. A few suggested that this was the case with them. Seven Democrats said that they are "southern democrats" or "conservative democrats," while nine indicated that they are "New Dealers," for Henry Wallace, or for Roosevelt.

Seven declared that although they were around thirty-five years old, they had never voted and politics didn't interest them much. Those who did indicate their position in terms of "principles," slightly over one-

quarter of the total, the great majority identified themselves as "liberals," "progressives," "socialist" and other center-left designations. Also one may infer, with much caution, that those who labelled themselves as Democrats without any extra identifying symbols, endorsed the general principles of that party since 1933. This would not be a wild conclusion, for a reliable newspaper man who has dealt with the federal personnel for the last twenty years, estimated that about two-thirds of the personnel had been pro-New Deal, and certainly pro-Roosevelt. Whether or not significant, when "crutches" were applied to those who hesitated answering the question, 42.6 per cent identified themselves as "liberals" or "progressives," and only 8.5% as "conservatives." However, 36.2 per cent claimed that they were "independents" or "middle-of-the-roaders."

Do great differences occur between the political self-identification of the manual and white-collar workers? Although the numbers of the former were small, differences do suggest themselves. Manual workers have a smaller proportion of Democrats, a larger proportion that does not claim political ties, and a smaller ratio of self-styled "liberals" and so forth.

It was found that the manual workers were more hesitant to express their opinions about their politics than were the white-collar workers. However, both hesitated to "free associate" about their political attitudes. Both groups showed a distrust of "things political." An auditor explained,

> I don't like politics. The whole thing stinks, it's rotten. Because of this, I've never become very interested in politics. I don't like political organizations either, anyplace.

A "business specialist," working for the Office of Price Administration

reflected, the directionless of his political thinking and suspicion of politics.

> I don't know what you mean by the question, but you may think I I am kind of radical. I know that I contradict lots of things. I can find what's wrong with lots of things, but I can't suggest what should be done. I'm not enthusiatic about politics. It's never done anything for me. I vote, but like ninety per cent of the people, I don't know what I'm voting for....I change my political thinking all the time. Sometimes, I go above what others think, and sometimes I go below. As I change like that, I probably cover all kinds of political ideas. Maybe that's why people can't figure me out

These two remarks are not typical but they do suggest the "feeling tone" that accompanied more precise commentaries on political orientation. Comments on political positions, however, tended to be few.

In summary, we may state that the majority of Greenbelters did not identify themselves politically with either one of the major parties, although party identification was larger than any other type of political identification. Almost two-fifths of the group thought of itself as "independent" or detached from the "ordinary" political structure. Those that did take views that reflected systematic political principles tended to be "liberalistic," although even these were tinged with some apathy and cynicism.

2: Identification to National Groups

People may not identify themselves with political groups or with people who share similar political principles. Their more ready identifications may revolve around economic, occupational, class, religious, nationality, or other associations of one type or another. The question was asked, "If you were to name the group in the country to which you feel you most belong, how would you name it?" This question "stumped" almost

all of the group. It was obvious that the respondents had not thought of the subject very much in this way. It was necessary to express the question differently after the inevitable "What do you mean?" The "crutch" question was, "Is there any nation-wide, or any large group, that you feel more a part of, more closely identified to, than any other group?" After considerable though and effort almost three-quarters were able to give some answer. The remainder was still befuddled by the question. This seems to indicate a lack of a feeling or attachment to nation-wide groups. However, the responses that were elicited are classified in the table below.

The striking fact is that despite repetition of the question, over one-third of the respondents were unable to locate themselves with any group in the nation. This obtained both for the manual and white-collar groups. The next largest group, one-fifth of the total, said "middle class" as a label of identification. This is a rather small proportion in view of the vaunted "middle class consciousness" of Americans. It is important to recall in this connection, that many of the respondents who used this identifying symbol, said in the same breath, "common person, average man." These responses were classified under "middle class" because they were given first. It is again odd, that manual workers suggested "middle class" more so than did white-collar workers. Note also that the maual workers gave the response "common or average man" more frequently than the others.

Less than one-tenth of either the manual or white-collar workers identified themselves with their occupation. An equal proportion identified themselves as being "politically independent." Again, such a choice

TABLE XLV

CLASSIFICATION OF RESPONSES OF GREENBELTERS' IDENTIFICATION TO NATION-WIDE GROUPS BY MANUAL WHITE-COLLAR DIVISIONS

	Total		Manual		White-Collar	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Explicitly "none," don't know never thought of it	39	35.5	12	36.4	27	35.1
Middle class	21	19.1	8	24.4	13	16.9
Independent (political)	10	9.1	1	3.0	9	11.7
Occupational groups	10	9.1	2	6.1	8	10.4
Common or average man	8	7.3	4	12.1	4	5.2
American Legion, ex-service man	5	4.5	3	9.1	2	2.6
Labor	4	3.6	1	3.0	3	3.9
Mason	3	2.7	1	3.0	2	2.6
Religious groups	3	2.7	1	3.0	2	2.6
Miscellaneous	7	6.4	-	-	7	9.1
Total	110	100.0	33	99.9	77	100.1
Can't understand question or "crutch"	41		4		37	
Grand Total	151		37		114	

reveals the basic lack of identifying symbols of the group. Less than one-quarter of the total used such labels as "labor," "Jewish," "American Legion," "Bull Moose," and others. This emphasizes the lack of political and social anchorage and orientation of the group. The following quotation of a sales clerk summarizes the most recurrent attitude of Greenbelters.

> I'm the average citizen. I'm without ties to any kind of a group. I don't believe in such things. There are too many people in this country who get tied up with groups. If we did away with them, we would get rid of many of our racial and other problems. Organizations have become so important to some people that they have neglected more important parts of their lives.

CHAPTER XXI

OCCUPATIONAL RANKING AND SELF-APPRAISAL

In this last section we have attempted to obtain some data concerning the self-appraisal of Greenbelters. Such information may be obtained by a number of methods. Here we are concerned with the self-appraisal of people as judged by the positions they give their own occupations in an occupational hierarchy. In order to do this, we asked the respondents to rank thirteen occupations according to the amount of "respect" or "deference" due them in a "community." In this way we also get their conceptions of occupational status in general. The occupations covered a broad range of jobs most of which, we felt, were known to the interviewed. No pretense is made here that the occupations listed are exactly representative of the total possible occupational range; but they do include independent business men, independent and dependent professionals, white-collar workers, and manual workers. A list of the occupations may be seen in Table XLVI.

Among the occupations was inserted the occupation of the respondent. Since his occupation was known before the interview, a typed card was prepared and inserted among the others. In this way, the respondent was ranking his own occupation in reference to the other twelve. This we could arrive at the self-appraisal of our respondents in the occupational hierarchy.

Table XLVI presents the occupational ranking for the group as a

whole. The doctor of medicine ranked highest, as first choice. Then came the big government bureau head, politician and factory owner, self and little businessmen, in that order. The second choice is more revealing. Again, the doctor ranked highest, but he was followed by the high school teacher and the politician-congressman who were tied. Then came the physical scientist and the owner of a large factory. Although the little retail business man, the big government bureau head, and the industrial wage worker were tied for fifth place, the third ranking distributed them in the order named.

The mean rank of each occupation presents an interesting picture. The professionals ranked highest. The doctor of medicine ranked first, the high school teacher followed, and then the physical scientist. The government statistician was the only professional omitted from this top stratum. The high ranking of the professionals is understandable in view of occupational and educatinnal aspirations of Greenbelters.

The businessmen followed the professionals. The owner of a large factory came before the little retail businessman. This is a little odd in view of the fear of big business by many "cooperators," but, as one suggested, the big businessman hires many more, and many are dependent upon him. Apparently such power entails respect.

The choices which follow are not "logical" in any sense. The political-congressman ranked sixth, and then came the occupation of the subjects. The head of big government bureau ranked eighth and the wage-earner ninth. These were followed by the government statistician, the

TABLE XLVI

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONAL RANKING OF GREENBELTERS INTERVIEWED IN PERCENTAGES

	First Choice	Second Choice	Last Choice	Mean Choice
Doctor of Medicine	63.1	18.3	.8	1.96
Big government bureau head	7.7	5.5	5.8	7.71
Politician-Congressman	6.1	17.5	12.4	6.56
Owner of large factory	6.1	9.5	4.1	5.94
Physical scientist	5.4	11.9	4.1	5.63
High school teacher	5.4	17.5	.8	4.44
Own occupation	3.1	2.4	5.0	7.40
Little retail business manager	2.3	5.5	-	6.54
Office Clerk	-	1.6	9.9	10.21
Skilled printer	-	2.4	9.1	9.40
Government Statistician	-	1.6	3.3	8.16
Big league ball player	-	.8	31.4	9.10
Total	100.0	100.0	99.9	

printer, the ball player, and the office clerk.

One reason for the "unusual" distribution of rankings at the lower end of the scale is that their spread was much wider than those at "higher" end of the scale. Of course, this alone does not account for their being placed so low, but the fact that respondents tended to react to them more violently is significant. This was the case with the politician-congressman and the big government bureau head especially. For some of the respondents these occupational titles were dyslogistic, while for others they were eulogisms.

The ranking of the subjects' own occupations also was subject to wider fluctuations. It may be of interest, however, to point out that all the "manual" occupations--industrial wage worker and skilled printer had the rank of nine or lower. This was also true for the "ball player." Apparently, the "ordinary" office clerk has not much more prestige to Greenbelters than manual workers. It is only when white-collar work has a specialist title that more honor is attached. We feel that had we inserted "bookkeeper" or a similar specific white-collar title, that this might have ranked higher. Most of Greenbelt's white-collar workers had risen above the routine office clerk level by 1944. This factor may have accounted, in part, for the low rank of the "office clerk." The boredom or ennui with routine office work in the past, and even antagonism for such work, may also account for the low ranking. The term "clerk" is very likely to be preceded in the minds of people by "just another...." or "merely a clerk."

Table XLVII presents the occupational choices by the manual laborer and clerical worker division. Here only the first, second, and the last choices of the two groups are presented. On the first choice, the two groups do not reveal many differences. The doctor ranks highest for both, while the bureau head ranks higher for the clerk, and the politician-congressman ranks higher for the manual workers. The influence of the place of work apparently affected the clerical workers' choice in one respect at least.

The second choices are also somewhat similar for the two groups. For both, the doctor again ranks highest, followed by the high school teacher, the politician-congressman, and the physical scientist. However, the high school teacher is ranked higher by the clerks. The higher value for education of the clerks is again evident here, but the firmer belief in work as a virtue might also be reflected by the higher ranking of the "industrial wage worker" by the manual workers.

The last choices are perhaps more significant than the first choices in displaying the status rankings of the two groups. Only a small proportion of the clerks who work in government offices place the bureau head and the office clerk in the lowest rank. However, almost one-eighth of the manual workers placed the office clerk last. A little over a fifth of the clerical worker reciprocated by placing the industrial wage worker last.

This clerical-labor envy or antagonism is a fundamental problem and should be pursued further. We segregated the clerks and the manual workers from the other occupations. We found that both groups ranked themselves about equally in the occupational hierarchy. The mean rank that the clerks

TABLE XLVII

OCCUPATIONAL RANKING BY GREENBELT MANUAL WORKERS AND CLERKS IN PERCENTAGES

	First Choice		Second Choice		Last Choice	
	Manual	Clerks	Manual	Clerks	Manual	Clerks
Doctor of Medicine	62.8	62.5	20.0	18.1	2.9	-
Big government bureau head	2.9	9.7	5.7	8.3	11.8	1.5
Owner of large factory	8.6	9.7	5.7	8.3	5.9	2.9
Physical scientist	2.9	5.6	14.3	13.9	2.9	2.9
Politician-congressman	11.4	5.6	14.3	16.7	11.7	16.2
High School teacher	5.7	2.8	17.1	22.2	2.9	-
Little retail business man	2.9	2.8	5.7	4.2	-	-
Government Statistician	-	-	2.9	1.4	2.9	-
Skilled printer	-	-	-	1.4	-	2.9
Own occupation	2.9	-	2.9	1.4	2.9	7.4
Office clerk	-	-	2.9	-	17.6	2.9
Industrial wage worker	-	1.4	8.6	4.2	8.8	20.6
Big league ball player	-	-	-	-	29.4	42.6
Total	100.1	100.1	100.1	100.1	99.9	99.9

ranked themselves was 7.8 and the mean rank that the manual workers ranked themselves was 7.6

Apparently the clerical workers in our sample felt that they had higher status than the "office clerk" and the "industrial wage worker" listed on the cards. Both the clerks and manual workers in Greenbelt gave "analagous" occupations in the problem mean ranks higher than 8.4. It may be opportune to recall here that the higher the mean rank, the lower the status given to the occupation.[1]

Let us observe how the Greenbelt manual workers ranked the office and industrial workers on the cards. The "industrial wage worker" received a mean rank of 8.4, while the "office clerk" had a mean rank of 10.3. Obviously, the manual workers felt that they deserve more respect than the office clerks. It is curious that the evidence, though not conclusive, points to the fact that the Greenbelt clerical workers tend to agree with the interpretation of the manual workers. The Greenbelt clerks gave the "office clerk" a mean rank of 10.3, and the "industrial wage worker" a mean rank of 9.1. It is true that the difference of the mean ranks indicated by Greenbelt clerks is not as large as that indicated by the manual worker, but the difference nevertheless persists.

It is rather difficult to account for the clerical workers ranking the "industrial wage worker" above the "office clerks." Perhaps it was for some a matter of "not boasting." Above, we noted that many of the interviewed had "liberal" "political" tendencies. Such groups are hesitant

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[1] This follows by giving the person ranked first, one; the second, two, and so on.

to claim status superiority on the basis of occupation alone. There is a definite "religious tolerence "angle to the way they think. Some clerks prefaced their ranking by such a statement as:

> It really doesn't matter what a man does. Just because a fellow works with his coat on, and another works with it off, doesn't mean that one is deserving of more respect than the other. It depends on the character of the man. But if you want me to rank them, I will.

A "liberal" who was making his career in the cooperative movement found it impossible to do the task. He complained:

> You can't expect me to do that [ranking]; it's unfair. There are too many other things that one must take into consideration if one is going to rank people in terms of the respect that they ought to have. You respect a man for what he is, not what he does. In all fairness to me and to you, it would be better if I didn't rank them.

Said a personal secretary of a government bureau head:

> It's the person that counts. A man may be a good doctor or a bad doctor. How high you rank him depends on how good he is and other things. I can't possibly figure out how to do this. But I'll put the man with most education on top. He belongs there if he is honest. Some of these people would rank high because they meet lots of people.

An auditor, who expresses his social views as "conservative" reacted differently to the question.

> One really shouldn't rank these things. It depends on what the individual does. The ball player for instance, many people are going to put him last. Now take Babe Ruth, he's a good citizen, and he runs a fine business in New York. Walter Johnson is running a successful chicken farm....Now I don't have any social ambitions. I don't care about that sort of thing. All I'm interested in is whether a man is doing a good job, whether he contributes to the stability of the community. Take the doctor, he does that. So does the teacher. I would rank them very high. The Administrative Assistant [self] is also stable and reliable. He would go next. The office clerks I would put lower. They haven't shown too much ambition. But their job has to be done. ....You've got to have all classes. You can't escape it. There has to be a high, low, and middle class in this country. Although this may hurt some individuals, you have to accept it. The system

is forced on us, and there's no way to escape it.

But on the whole, the respondents did not "free associate" as the individual above. In fact, most of them wanted their rankings to be kept secret.

It is difficult to make conclusive generalizations concerning the self-appraisals of Greenbelters. It is clear, however, that there are some differences between the manual and white-collar groups in the status levels they would assign different occupations and their own. Although both the manual and the clerical workers rank the professionals highly, the manual workers believe in the superiority of their "kind," as the ball player and the industrial wage worker. The white-collar groups place the government bureau head high, and have more "regard" for the office clerk than do the manual workers. Perhaps one reason why the clerks ranked the "bureaucrat" high, is because they may aspire to such a post some day. This regard for the bureaucrat is expressed negatively in the lower ranking of the politician-congressman, who has power over the bureau head.

Despite these differences, neither the manual workers nor the white-collar groups ranked their own occupations very highly. Most of them were aware of the fact that they were ranking their own occupations and this may have made them "modest." But more important than this factor, we feel is the influence of the "religious" and "liberal philosophy" on the group.

This view endorses the notion that one must be always "fair" to people and that one should not make decisions about people in the abstract.

One must always judge the individual for what he "is", or what he has made of the circumstances under which he has operated. When one has had good fortune or success, one must be humble, overtly at least. Above all, one must try to understand one's fellow man, and this cannot be done without sympathy toward him. One must not lose contact with the common man, for this is his world. His role is basic to the continued welfare of the society.

Such a view, we feel is not untypical in Greenbelt. It is likely that Greenbelters, coming from families of skilled laborers and small businessmen still have regard and esteem for their fathers. At the same time, they feel that they have risen in status. They feel that their persistence and attaining more education has helped them to rise economically and in terms of status. Despite this rise, they want to feel that they can still feel like the "common man." They tend to feel that they are <u>for</u> him, but not an integral part of him. Although they endorse political measures that may help the "common man", they are reluctant to join him and his causes without reservations. Some of them feel that they may be on the brink of a career that may bring promising results. However, the sceptre of unemployment is not forgotten. They feel that they do not have much time to climb occupationally, and that the greatest effort must be made now. They are aware that very frequently, workers are "frozen" in a bureaucratic hierarchy. However, they feel that it would be worthwhile to get "frozen" and thus be secure, if the level were high enough.

The higher white-collar workers are anxious to buy a home and achieve the appearance of independence for themselves, and the actuality of professional independence for their children. He is a little fearful that this

may not be realized, but he is straining to do all he can in that direction. He is unwilling to "take a chance" to make money by setting himself up in business, yet he yearns to be rid of routines that bind him to the work he is doing. Consequently, he has decided to make the most that he can out of his present positions, and divert all of his energies in rising as far as possible up the bureaucratic ladder. But there are some indications that the older white-collar employees in Greenbelt have given up the intense strain to lift themselves further occupationally. They will be satisfied if they can hold onto what they have. The feeling is strong that the group will tend to reduce expectations more in accord with actualities as it becomes more difficult to climb. That would be the "intelligent" thing to do. The emphasis must be to provide the children with as many cultural and educational opportunities as possible.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Complete bibliographical information relating to all printed materials, either quoted or used as references, are acknowledged in the footnotes or in the body of this thesis. A catalogue of all other types of sources is presented in the introductory chapter, and need not be repeated here.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

FAMILY SCHEDULE

Husband: Age Birthplace
Wife Age Birthplace

Marital Status Male Female Religion Prot. _____ Denom.
Cath.
M. S.. W. D. Hebr.
Morm
Other.

Legal Residence

Children Sex Age
1
2
3
4

Financial Statement:
Mon. Tot. wages of Heads
Other cash income
Securities and Invests.
Insurance (face val.)
Present Indebt (bal)
Estimated budget
Auto

Occupational History:

	Occupational Description	Duration	Salary	Place
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				

Miscellaneous
Military Service
Stab. of resid.
Hobbies

Education
yrs. mate
Grade
High
College
Profes.
Vocat.

DISTRIBUTION OF AMOUNT OF INDEBTEDNESS BY OCCUPATION AS OF DATE OF ENTRY

	E.M.&O.		Prof.		Tech-nicians		Office Clerks		Sales Clerks		Skilled		Semi-Skilled		Un-skilled		All Clerks		White Collar		Manual Workers		Total	
Debt range	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
none	5	13.5	22	37.3	6	30.0	129	28.8	8	40.0	28	32.2	17	30.4	9	22.5	146	29.3	173	29.1	54	29.5	227	29.2
$1-49	4	10.8	5	8.5	5	20.0	92	20.5	5	25.0	17	19.5	9	16.1	9	16.1	103	20.7	112	18.9	35	19.1	147	18.9
50-99	7	18.9	8	13.6	4	13.3	63	14.1	1	5.0	13	14.9	2	3.6	4	10.0	68	13.7	83	14.0	19	10.4	102	13.1
100-49	9	24.3	3	5.1	2	5.1	45	10.0	3	15.0	16	18.4	7	12.5	3	7.5	50	10.0	62	10.4	26	14.2	88	11.3
150-99	1	21.7	2	3.4	2	3.4	26	5.8	-	-	4	4.6	7	12.5	4	10.0	28	5.6	31	5.2	15	8.2	46	5.9
200-49	5	13.5	5	8.5	2	8.5	27	6.0	-	-	3	3.4	2	3.6	1	2.5	29	5.8	39	6.6	6	3.3	45	5.8
250-99	2	5.4	1	1.7	2	1.7	17	3.8	-	-	2	2.3	3	5.4	5	12.5	19	3.8	22	3.7	10	5.5	32	4.1
300-49	-	-	2	3.4	1	3.4	13	2.9	-	-	-	-	4	7.1	2	5.0	13	2.6	15	2.5	6	3.3	21	2.7
350-99	-	-	2	3.4	1	3.4	10	2.2	2	10.0	2	2.3	1	1.8	-	-	13	2.6	15	2.5	3	1.6	18	2.3
400-49	-	-	-	-	1	3.4	6	1.3	-	-	1	1.1	1	1.8	1	2.5	6	1.2	6	1.0	3	1.6	9	1.2
450-99	1	2.7	3	5.1	2	6.6	6	1.3	1	5.0	-	-	1	1.8	-	-	7	1.4	11	1.9	1	0.6	12	1.5
500+	3	8.1	6	10.2	2	6.6	15	3.4	-	-	1	1.1	2	3.6	2	5.0	16	3.2	25	4.2	5	2.8	30	3.8
Total	37	99.9	59	100.1	30	100.0	448	100.0	20	100.0	87	99.8	56	100.2	40	100.0	498	99.9	594	99.9	183	100.0	777	99.9
No inf.-			3		1		12		-		6		-		2		13		-		8		24	
G. Tot	37		62		31		460		20		93		56		42		511		594		191		801	

TABLE XLIV

RANK ORDER OF OCCUPATIONS
ACCORDING TO ANNUAL MEAN SALARY RECEIVED
AS OF DATE OF ENTRY

	Occupation	Mean Salary
1.	Messengers, mailers, etc.	$1,187
2.	Service Workers	1,265
3.	Unskilled Labor	1,289
4.	Sales Persons	1,364
5.	Teachers	1,370
6.	Employers & Self-employed	1,373
7.	Stock, Shipping, etc., clerks	1,400
8.	Office Machine Operators	1,415
9.	Typists	1,442
10.	File Clerks	1,472
11.	Stenographers	1,489
12.	Clerks--unspecified	1,508
13.	Semi-skilled Workers	1,529
14.	Apprentices to Skilled	1,534
15.	Fingerprint classifiers	1,534
16.	Skilled Foremen	1,537
17.	Bookkeepers	1,549
18.	Technical Clerks	1,576
19.	Managers and Officials	1,590
20.	Technicians, Lab. Assistants, etc.	1,610
21.	Secretaries	1,645
22.	Skilled Workers	1,650
23.	Accountants, Auditors, etc.	1,697
24.	Engineers, Chemists, etc.	1,754
25.	Independent Professionals	2,156

TABLE XLV

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF INDEBTED, DEBT-FREE, SAVERS, AND NON-SAVERS IN GREENBELT AS OF DATE OF ENTRY IN PERCENTAGES

Occupation	Total Greenbelt	Indebted	Debt-Free	Savers	Non-Savers
Employers, Managers, Officials	5.0	6.1	2.2	5.6	4.3
Professionals	8.1	7.0	10.9	11.0	5.3
Clerical, Sales, etc.	63.5	63.3	64.2	63.0	64.4
Skilled Workers	11.2	10.6	12.6	11.0	11.4
Semi-skilled Workers	6.7	6.8	6.5	4.9	8.6
Unskilled Workers	1.6	2.0	1.0	1.6	1.7
Service Workers	3.9	4.3	2.6	3.0	4.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0